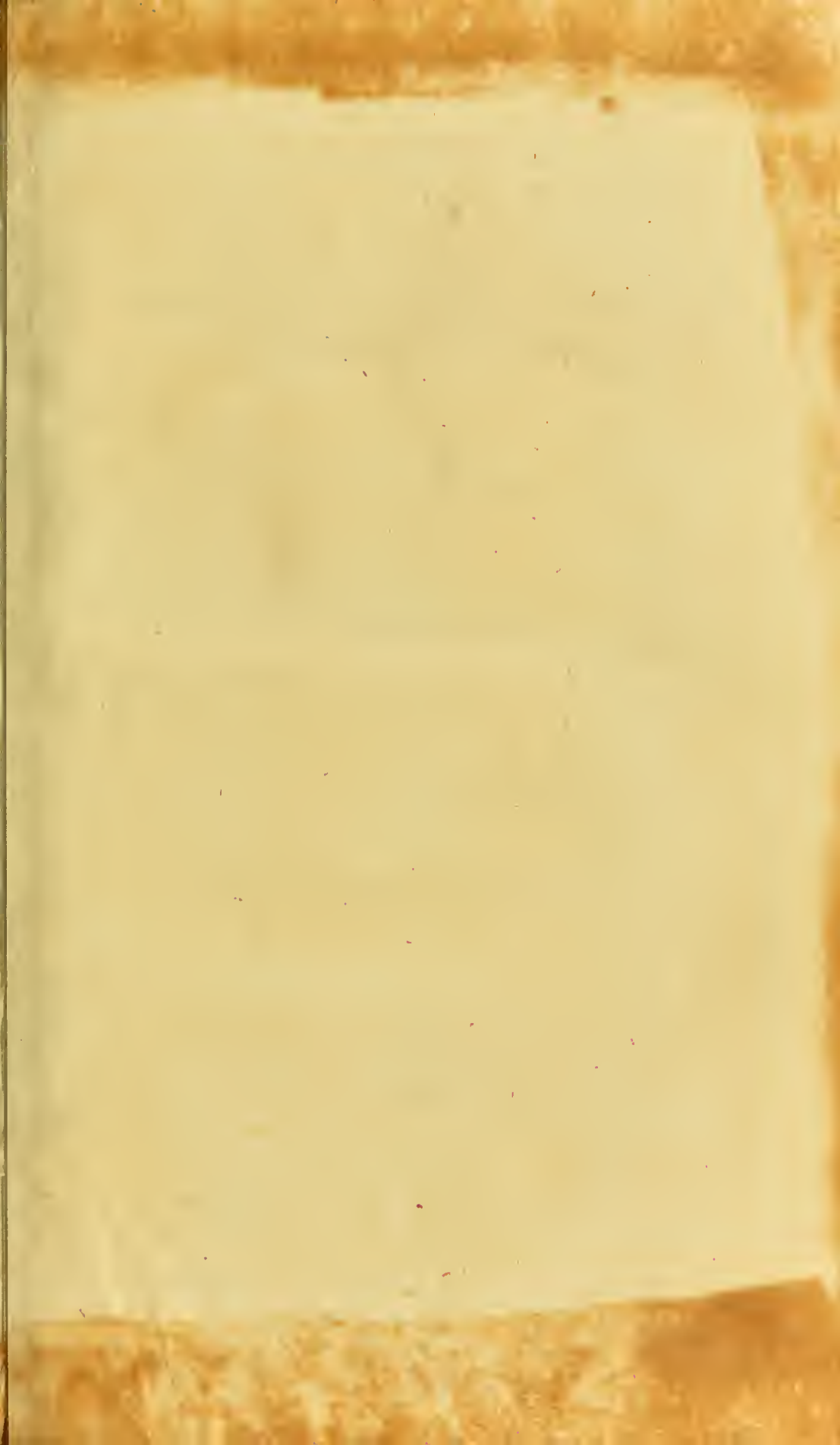
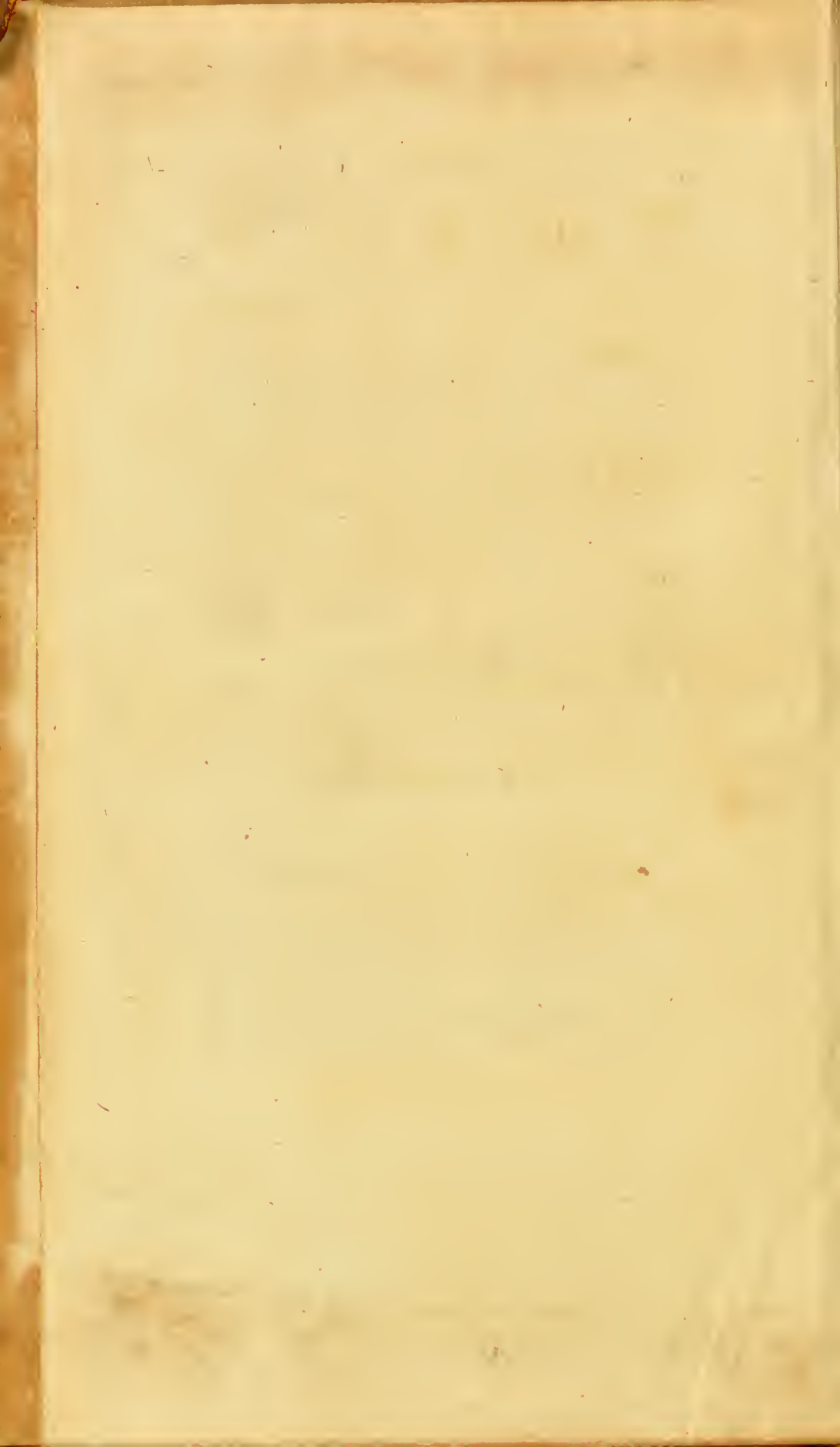


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THE
WORKS
THEOLOGICAL, MEDICAL, POLITICAL,
AND MISCELLANEOUS,

OF

JOHN JEBB, M.D. F.R.S.

WITH

MEMOIRS

OF THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR;

BY JOHN DISNEY, D.D. F.S.A.

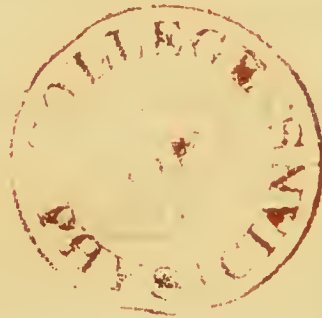
IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

L O N D O N :

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II.

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T H E
E X C E L L E N C Y
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S P I R I T O F B E N E V O L E N C E.
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P R E A C H E D B E F O R E T H E
U N I V E R S I T Y O F C A M B R I D G E,
O N M O N D A Y, D E C E M B E R 28, 1772.

Χριστιανισμος εστι της Θειας φύσεως μιμησις.
Christianity consists in the imitation of the divine nature.

GREGORY NYSSEN.

FIRST PRINTED AT CAMBRIDGE
MDCCLXXIII.

NOW RE-PRINTED FROM THE THIRD
EDITION, MDCCLXXXII.

TO THE
INGENUOUS YOUTH;
WHO HAVE HONOURED
WITH THEIR ATTENDANCE
THE
THEOLOGICAL LECTURES,
LATELY
INSTITUTED AT CAMBRIDGE.*

GENTLEMEN,

IT is the peculiar glory of the religion we profess, that, at the same time that it tends to inform our understandings, it meliorates our social nature; and, with irresistible energy, inclines us to regard both God and man, with sentiments of fervent love.

For this reason, in the discharge of my duty as a lecturer upon the gospels, I always earnestly exhorted you to consider religion as

B 3 a science,

* November 21, 1768.

a science, which has for its proper object the culture of the human heart.

A constant attention to the end, evidently proposed in the gospel dispensation, is one of the most likely means to lead us to a just conception of each particular doctrine. And, as good will to man was the declared purpose of the almighty in revealing it, and was uniformly displayed in every action of our redeemer, we have reason to conclude, that those doctrines are of prime importance to our salvation, which appear to be more immediately productive of a beneficent practice.

Riches, false pleasures, and the lust of power, are generally esteemed the grand corrupters of our nature ; but the pride of heart, which the reputation of superior knowledge, or abilities, too frequently inspires, may be equally prejudicial to the interests of society, and in no less measure destructive of our virtue, and our inward peace.

Happy indeed would it have been for the christian world, if the professors, of what is termed religious knowledge, had been able
to

to plead an exemption from the prevalence of those bad passions, which have so often reflected disgrace upon our religion, and dishonour on our kind.

Our divine instructor, as if provident of the evils, in after-time derived from this source, dwells with a particular earnestness on the advantages of a meek and lowly spirit; and frequently insinuates to his hearers, that, unless every aspiring sentiment be subdued in their hearts, they would find unfurmountable obstructions even to the entering upon the profession of a religion, immediately proceeding from that God, who resisteth the proud, and giveth grace unto the humble.

But these exhortations would have been to little purpose, had not the genius of his religion been conformable to the qualifications, which he required in his attentive hearers. A lordly and assuming spirit would, by an unavoidable necessity, have sooner discovered itself in the bosom of the church, had the founder of our religion delivered such a form of doctrine, as, in order to its just conception, would have necessarily re-

quired an extraordinary exertion of our intellectual powers.

Previously to all inquiry into the fact, we might reasonably surmise, that a religion, intended for universal acceptation, at the same time that it unfolded truths, of sufficient importance to engage the attention of the most improved understandings, would also adapt itself to the capacities and circumstances of those, who, with respect to numbers, are by far the most considerable portion of our species.

This idea, surely not dishonourable to our holy faith, the labours of many years have now confirmed in my mind.

Persuaded, therefore, of the simplicity of the christian religion, as exhibited in the scriptures, I have earnestly contended, and, while the fountain of life and health shall continue to me the power, will persevere in contending, that the grand and fundamental doctrines of the gospel are few in number, easy of comprehension, propounded with the utmost perspicuity and plainness, and withal of a nature so intirely practical, that not a single article of faith, contained
in

in the word of God, is therein proposed as of necessity to salvation, which hath not an obvious connection with a just and honourable conduct.

The principle of benevolence, the excellency of which is the subject of the following discourse, is particularly recommended as the great characteristic of the religion of the gospel*. And we should act wisely, if we always estimated our progress in the knowledge of that religion, by our improvement in the practice of this manly virtue. A virtue, so indispensably necessary to the formation of the real christian, that all other acquirements, of whatever nature they may be, are not of sterling worth, if the heart is found a stranger to its power.

In all your studious researches, therefore, into the doctrines of the gospel, remember to keep this, the most important of them, ever present to your sight. And, when your hearts are animated with the prospect of those future glories, which the almighty,
in

* By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another. Jesus.

in his mercy, hath revealed ; reflect, that you then will testify your gratitude in a manner, the most pleasing to your heavenly father, when your lives are distinguished by acts of disinterested affection unto those, who are created in your father's likeness.

I remain, gentlemen, with great esteem,
your affectionate and obliged servant,

THE PREACHER.

ACTS

I.

A C T S XX. 35.

“REMEMBER THE WORDS OF THE LORD JESUS, HOW HE SAID, IT IS MORE BLESSED TO GIVE THAN TO RECEIVE.”

THE religion of the gospel, though supported by such evidence as might justly command obedience to its laws, chiefly aims at our conversion, by the milder powers of persuasion, and a generous appeal to the genuine feelings of the uncorrupted heart.

Next to the worship of our creator in spirit and in truth, it enjoins an obedience to the most pleasing affections of our nature, as our most essential duty: and recommends the principle of unlimited benevolence; that principle, from which true happiness must always flow, as the proper motive and incentive to every action it approves.

In conformity with its general language, it delivers the doctrine of my text; “it is more blessed to give, than to receive.”

But

But may it not be urged, that the sentiment, on which this doctrine is established, is, in fact, at variance with the common practice, as well as the prevailing disposition of mankind?

Self is the idol we adore in every stage and period of our existence.

If it be more blessed to give, than to receive; whence is it, that in early life the appetite for sensual pleasure reigns in our breasts without control? Whence is it, that we sacrifice the ease of those around us to every lawless passion? Our powers of being useful in our generation, to the gratification of desires, which at length render us useless to ourselves?

Avarice surely disclaims the doctrine of my text. Nay, even that moderate degree of attention to our welfare, which is dignified with the name of prudence, consists not in providing for the necessities of others; its object is, a decent provision for the supply of those personal wants, which the laws of nature and of custom have imposed upon our race.

Ambition, nay, even emulation, and the
desire

desire of an honest fame, are altogether of a selfish nature. We envy the pomp, the power, and even the virtue, which we are unable to possess. Our own superiority depends as much upon the depression of our rival, as on the elevation of ourselves; the joy of success, in this instance, is therefore utterly unsocial: it too often is founded on the miseries of our kind.

Yet the love of pleasure, the love of power, and the love of praise, are in a manner congenial with the human mind: they appear to be necessary movements in our frame: they call aloud for constant gratification. With respect to these, therefore, it is surely not more blessed to give, than to receive.

Religion itself seems to countenance, and even to applaud, this ardent desire of happiness in our species: she appears to conspire with this general pulse of nature, with this universal wish of all her offspring.

She calls upon us to leave the paths of vice, to pursue the paths of virtue, by the fear of punishment,—by the animating prospect of reward.

Let

Let us, however, attend to what the voice of calm philosophy, aided by experience, can urge as a solution of this difficulty.

And first, it must be considered, that the question is not concerning the instinctive desire of happiness; but the mode of conducting ourselves, with respect to the ordinary means of its attainment. And it is contended, that a more rational pleasure, a sublimer satisfaction, will be found in dispensing them to others, than in receiving them ourselves.

The pleasures of rational creatures are of a twofold kind.

The gratification of every natural appetite is pleasing: but the pleasure ceases in the instant of enjoyment. No power of our will can recall it to our remembrance: it remains sunk in deep oblivion; until the appetite returns at its appointed period.

Other gratifications there are, delightful in the moment of enjoyment, and which also upon reflection please.

Oppressed with hunger and with thirst, the soul of man grows faint; the calls of nature are vehemently loud, they plead with irresistible

irresistible eloquence for the accustomed gratification. But, when the son of misery is satiated with plenty, the torture of his expectation vanishes, the pleasure of gratification is no more.

But it is not so with the person who relieves him. He felt a supreme satisfaction in contributing to his necessity; and every recollection enhances the delight.

The sensations also are widely different in degree.

It is universally allowed, that parental fondness evidences itself much more powerfully than filial love.

Hence we may certainly conclude, that, in this instance, the pleasure of conferring favours is superior to the pleasure of receiving them.

And, although, in strict propriety, no appeal can be made to an almost antiquated passion; yet a similar conclusion may possibly be collected from the animated language, in which the citizens of Sparta, and of Rome, expressed the fervour of their affection, for their country's cause.

The happiness of the almighty is certainly

tainly as much superior to the happiness of his creatures, as his nature is superior, with respect to intrinsic excellence and power. And his happiness is therefore greater, because they receive from him whatever they enjoy, unable to repay it by a similar return of bounty, while he remains to endless ages the inexhaustible fountain of all good.

The indulgence of the benevolent affections forms our highest happiness also ; because the heart, which is actuated by them, is a stranger to perplexity and care.

Those tumultuous passions, in whose sad retinue are found disorder, confusion, and despair, are unknown where the gentler form of benevolence bears sway. Pride, avarice, anger, and revenge, bow down before her : they are hushed in soft repose ; like the beasts of night, when the sun ariseth they gather themselves together, and lay them down in their dens.

When we consider the numerous wants and imperfections of our nature, we see the wisdom of providence, in implanting those seeds of soft compassion in our breasts, which soothe our mutual sorrows, at the same time
that

that they are the sources of almost every blessing we enjoy.

The words of scripture, the practice of our heavenly teacher, confirm this voice of nature, and bind us with additional obligations to its observance.

The gospel, in every page, exhorts us, to suppress each rising passion, which opposes itself to our neighbour's happiness, to sacrifice our own emolument to his advantage, and to subdue the hostile spirit of the injurious person, by accumulated acts of undeserved kindness.

The great founder of our religion came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for mankind.

His disciples imitated this great example. And, when we reflect upon the constant tenor of their conduct; when we behold them calm and composed in the time of danger, unterrified by every form of persecution and distress, rejoicing themselves in tribulation, exhorting others to rejoice; we must certainly conclude, that they felt a sincerer pleasure, a more warm and impassioned satisfaction, in their works of bene-

II.

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volence,

volence, in their labours of love, than if they had been gratified with the actual enjoyment of whatever wealth, and honour, and dominion could bestow.

It cannot be urged in opposition to the doctrine we would establish, that every human action may be traced, until it be found connected with the love of pleasure, the love of power, or the love of praise.

The love of pleasure animates to action; and experience proves, that the highest pleasure is found in the performance of those actions which are useful to our species.

The love of power is virtuous, when we attempt its acquisition, with a view of increasing our capacities of doing good.

Approbation and applause are the grateful tribute of mankind, in return for just and generous conduct. It is, therefore, a characteristic mark of a benevolent heart to be influenced by the love of honest praise. And the delight, arising from the indulgence of this passion, is itself a demonstration, that it is more blessed to give than to receive.

Every

Every passion, therefore, in our constitution points out, that true enjoyment is only to be found in acts of social love.

And on this idea, happiness is surely in our power. We cannot indeed command the exercise of our neighbours kind affections in our favour, but we possess an unlimited power over our own.

Nor can it be urged as an objection to this theory, that religion frequently appeals to the selfish passions of our nature ; or with reason be asserted, that revelation, holding forth the gift of immortality, as the destined reward of our obedience, in fact annihilates the intrinsic excellence, and native dignity of every generous virtue, in the breast of each believer of the gospel.

It is readily allowed, that reward is only due to disinterested acts of virtue.

But the principle of every social, and disinterested affection is gradually formed in the heart, by a kind of mechanical process, and by the aid of motives, which differ widely from their generated effect.

The hopes and fears, which a belief in the religion of the gospel naturally raises in the heart of man, although, considered in themselves and their immediate consequences, they have no claim to the character of meritorious ; yet directly lead to the production of affections, disinterested in their immediate motive, and, therefore, strictly deserving of reward.

Under the conduct of right reason, they rouse us from the fatal lethargy of vice, they urge us to the practice of every useful virtue ; until at length the heart, led captive by the charms of truth, forgets the motive, which first engaged it in her service ; and expanding itself wide as the creation of the almighty, and emulative of the joy of God, considers every increase of the happiness of others, as an addition of happiness to itself.

Hath heaven, therefore, blessed thee with riches ? consider thyself as the appointed dispenser of them to thy brethren : and know, that thy happiness does not consist in the envied possession, but in the liberal communication, of thy substance.

Thou

Thou still wilt be happier than thy poorer neighbour: he receives thy favours, thou conferrest them: “it is more blessed to give, than to receive.”

Beat down the spirit of pride, which causes thee to insult the lowly fortune of thy less happy brother. The sense of pain, arising from a comparison of his state with thine, shall be diminished in his breast; and thou shalt find thy reward, in that inward tranquillity, which meekness shall inspire.

The gift of superior wisdom, and abilities, the advantages of learning, are valuable only in the use. He that increaseth knowledge, increaseth sorrow, if he toileth only for himself. If he hath no other end in view, than the gratification of a vain aspiring spirit, the humble diffidence of the unlettered peasant is more deserving of our praise.

Let not then the light of science shine inward only on thyself. Let it irradiate thy neighbour's footsteps with its friendly beam: let it light him on his dark and dangerous

way through the wilderness of human life. The ray of knowledge, which thus informs his mind, shall by strong reflection more powerfully illuminate thine own.

Repine not, though thy humbler station circumscribe thy powers of being useful, within a narrower sphere. No man liveth to himself; the labours of the lowliest of the sons of men are necessary to the well being of the whole. Consecrate them, by an upright intention, to the general good; they shall be remembered to thy praise. True merit shall not hereafter be disregarded, though now it may lie concealed in the obscurer walks of private life. The impartial hour of future retribution shall call forth the friend of man, whatever may have been his station here below, to substantial happiness; and place an unfading crown of glory on his brow.

Nor will that sacred ardor, which glows within the patriot's breast, be unknown to the professor of the gospel. With conscious dignity of mind, resulting from a sense of high desert, he treads the path of public virtue,

virtue, with determined resolution: or if, like the amiable founder of our religion, he dissolves in tears at the prospect of the impending desolation of his country, yet, assisted by the power of faith, he directs his view to those improved forms of civil polity which future ages shall disclose in happier climes; and, enraptured with the glorious prospect, enjoys a source of satisfaction, which the sceptred king may envy,—which the selfish cannot feel.

Restrain the resentment arising from the injuries of unreasonable men. Thy adversary shall praise thy mild forbearance; and thy forgiveness of a brother's trespass be requited by the more important pardon of thy own offences against the tremendous majesty of heaven.

But most of all, be actively benevolent; glory not in the ferocity of thy nature, nor steel it against the soft sensations of pity and compassion. Better for thyself, as well as others, that thy heart should overflow with the milk of human kindness; better that thou shouldest melt at every tale of woe,

than possess that unfeeling temper, which forbids thee to rejoice, when thou hearest the voice of gladness; or withholds thy tears, amidst the distresses of a creature of like passions with thyself.

The necessities of our brethren are so numerous, and the advantages, which the meanest of us enjoy, may be rendered so effectually subservient to the removal of their sorrows, that every one, who possesses the will, may find the power to practise this noblest virtue,—this most essential duty of mankind.

The various actions and pursuits of mortal men, discordant as they may seem to the incurious mind, are directed by the hand of providence to the general good.

In the imitation, therefore, of this conduct of the almighty will consist the height of human happiness; as surely, as happiness may be expected to become our portion, when our hearts are found consenting with his will.

The relations of life indeed are numerous,
but

but the common bond is one: that bond is social love.

On earth, this joins the hearts of the married pair in softest sympathy of affections; unites the master to his servant, the parent to his child.

In heaven, it forms that sacred bond, which shall hereafter join the angel and archangel, in blessed communion with the redeemed of the Lord.

Renounce, therefore, O christian, whatever be thy rank or station, all attachment to those unworthy pleasures, to those unworthy cares, which would allure thee from a conscientious discharge of the functions of thy proper calling; and be studious to employ each important hour, in the exercise of those generous, those manly virtues, which are at once thy duty and thy great reward.

The streams of disinterested benevolence, poured forth on all around thee, shall swell at length the tide of private happiness. And the bread, which thou hast cast on many waters, shall, at the appointed time, with vast increase return to thee again.

Now

Now to the King eternal, immortal,
invisible, the only wise God, be honour,
and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

II. *

P R O V E R B S III. 17.

“ HER WAYS ARE WAYS OF PLEASANTNESS, AND ALL HER PATHS ARE PEACE.”

IT is a common observation, that happiness, though in fact obtained by few, is with ardor desired by us all. The ways of pleasantness, the paths of peace, are ways and paths in which we would all most willingly proceed ; yet fatal ignorance, yet misguiding passions, frequently seduce us from them, and cause us to tread with pain the avenues which lead to the abodes of sorrow, anguish, and despair. To what cause are we to impute this general failure in the grand pursuit of human kind ? Whence is it, that, in every subordinate art, the labours of men are crowned with success, while they deplore with sighs a constant disappointment

[* This and the following sermons are now first published from the original manuscripts.]

ment in the most important art of all, the art of attaining to an happy life ?

The husbandman shall break the clod, and harrow in the seed with skill ; and ripening suns shall spread the golden harvest to his view : art shall lend her aid, and mould the fruits of that harvest into bread : and the end of all his toil, and of all his skill shall be, that he shall eat that bread with discontent and sorrow. That care and diligence with which he seeks to fill his barns with plenty, shall themselves become the sources of his disquietude : the anxieties of an avaricious spirit, shall embitter his declining years, and forbid him to enjoy in age, that affluence and ease, for which he toiled so assiduouſly in youth. Envy shall point at the spacious, at the fertile fields of his more successful neighbour ; and, stung with vexation at the prospect, he shall pine in secret, when he beholds the habitation of another the seat of greater plenty ; although, at the same time, heaven, with unsparing hand, pours forth some of its choicest blessings upon his own.

Nor is it only with respect to the fruits of the earth that we have occasion to mourn
the

the sad event of all our labours. Let us cast our eyes on those who go down to the sea in ships, and occupy their business in great waters. Success shall attend upon every exertion of their skill : the wealth of either India shall invite them to its shores ; the winds, obedient to their call, shall fill their sails ; they shall go, and shall return in safety ; and affluence, beyond their utmost expectation, shall seem to reward their toils ; yet clouds and darkness, storms and tempests, shall await them at the furthest bounds of this delightful prospect. That happy skill which was sufficient to lead them amidst surrounding sands and shoals to every port, at last shall fail them : and even these shall own, that the utmost efforts of their art have proved insufficient to conduct them to the haven of happiness, that haven where we all would be.

If, to avoid the shame of a misdirected pursuit, and the regret of unavailing labour, we apply for counsel to the moralist, or the preacher ; they too shall seem to be in league against us, and to conspire in mocking our inquiries in the search after earthly happiness. The moralist, even he in whose
we

maxims we might expect to hear the boast of human wisdom, and in whose conduct we might expect to see the perfection of human virtue, even he shall tell us, that a stern insensibility to every object of our desires, is the only expedient that can ensure our peace. And the preacher,* even he whom we have heard, but now pronouncing so complete a panegyric on the blessings of a religious life, even he shall maintain, that there is no profit beneath the sun, that wisdom, riches, and honours, are alike vanity, and that vexation of spirit is the common attendant on them all. †

How are we to reconcile declarations of the philosopher so repugnant to our feelings, or account for the language of Solomon, so expressive of discontent; so contrary to those sentiments of gratitude to the almighty, which, from the general tenor of his religious instructions, we had reason to expect? Shall we demonstrate to the stoic the absurdity of his maxim, and show him the unreasonableness of supposing that, while the happiness of all other creatures consists in the indulgence and gratification of their
several

* Eccles. i. 1. † Eccles. i. 14. ii. 11. &c.

several instincts, the felicity of man should be found in a perpetual opposition to the dictates of his nature? Shall we, in reply to Solomon, assert, that a language which would persuade us totally to disregard the goods of this life, must at the same time cast a gloom over the mind, and damp that spirit, which is necessary to our exertions, in the more active scenes of piety and virtue? Shall we expostulate with him on his apparent inconsistency? Shall we inquire of him at what period of his life he adopted so discouraging a system? While he was yet young he prayed for wisdom, and God gave him an understanding heart. When was it that he discovered such a gift to be of no estimation? Was it when it enabled him to discern judgment, to defeat the unnatural pretensions of a false claimant, and to restore peace and comfort to the bosom of an agonizing mother? Or, when he grew old, took unto himself strange women, and suffered them to turn his heart after other gods. When he had given himself not only to know wisdom, but madness and folly also.* When he had disobeyed his own precepts, had

* Eccles. i. 17.

had sinned against knowledge, and wronged his own soul;* well might he be induced to say, that in much wisdom is much grief; and he “ that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow.”†

Because he had prayed for an understanding heart, God gave him also riches and honour.‡ When was it he found reason to be dissatisfied with his abundance? Was it while he was employing it in building a temple to the Lord Jehovah, or, when he was raising high places to the idols of Moab and of Ammon?

When Solomon had disregarded the counsel of wisdom; when he had abused the gifts of riches and honour, then did they turn to his disquiet; then did they appear to be vanity and vexation of spirit. Yet God, the giver of all, rejoiceth in the happiness of man, and, to an attentive reader, the history of Solomon, and the causes of his discontent, will afford a lesson no less instructive, than the wisdom of his maxims, or the piety of his religious exhortations.

If

* Prov. viii. 36. † Eccles. i. 18.

‡ 1 Kings iii. 9—13.

If then we make a candid appeal to the nature and condition of our being, I trust, it will appear, that life is not that rugged and barren wilderness, in which we meet only with thorns to torment, and mazes to bewilder ; but that the path is open, and a guide ready, to whose directions we may securely trust ; and without renouncing one solid satisfaction, without declining one honourable, and interesting pursuit, may be enabled to acknowledge at the close of our journey, that the ways in which she has led us, have been ways of pleasantness, and that all her paths have been the paths of peace ?

We seek, and obtain not, because we seek amiss : we mistake too frequently the means for the end ; we attach ourselves to the goods of life as our final object, when they should be used only as means to facilitate our improvement in piety and benevolence. If we form a false estimate of that happiness which our maker designed for us ; if we look for it in circumstances and situations, where it would be to the dishonour of God for true enjoyment, for lasting happiness to be found ; well may we have reason to

II.

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lament,

lament, that our wishes have been success-
less, and our labour vain.

In the remaining part of this discourse, therefore, I will endeavour, first, to describe the nature of that religion which the almighty, in his mercy, intended to be the guide of man: and, secondly, to point out some of the most beneficial effects of this gift of God upon every scene of social life.

Religion is commonly divided by us christians, into the religion of reason, and the religion of the gospel: but they are equally the voice of God, and evidences of his good will to man.

By the assistance of our natural powers, we may trace out that goodness and loving kindness of the almighty king, which beam forth with a brighter lustre to a rational mind, than even that power and majesty which surround his eternal throne. From hence arise those pious affections of gratitude and love, and that upright conduct which our reason informs us, must necessarily be the duty of man; this is true religion, the religion of the heart.

The

The religion of the gospel confirms those truths which our natural powers enable us to perceive,—affords us additional motives for our pious affections, and for our religious performance of those duties, which had been suggested by reason, that noblest faculty of the human mind.

The religion of reason, therefore, I would define to be true religion, unassisted by any extraordinary revelation, more particularly as not partaking of the benefits arising from that superior light, and important information, which the almighty hath afforded us in the gospel of his son.

The religion of reason, first, calls upon us to look round upon the face of that earth, which is our present habitation ; she points to the wonderful care of nature, in the formation of every plant and flower which diversifies its surface ; she suggests to us the contemplation of the still more numerous uses for which each plant and flower springs up, and withers, and decays ; how each contributes to the being and the enjoyment of the innumerable species of living creatures, with which every element is

filled ; how each, and all, conduce to the satisfaction of nature's fairest produce, the rational mind : and, finally, leads us to conclude, that these infinitely varied objects of sight, of smell, of touch, are not the effects of wayward chance, but owe their origin to one, almighty, ever-living God, who first formed them from nothing by his creative voice, and now supports them in existence by the word of his power ; that, though numerous as the sands of the shore, they are all the produce of one mighty being, of one everlasting parent of all good.

The religion of reason also calls upon us to observe the methods of God's providence, the nature of that administration with which he rules among the sons of men. And here, when we behold that " the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong ;" that the wicked are often prosperous in their wickedness, while the virtuous mourn beneath the weight of their affliction, the careless observer is but too ready to conclude, that one event will happen to all ; and that wisdom in the formation of a plan, or firmness

ness in the execution, is in vain fought for in the counsels of heaven.

Vain, inconsiderate objector! reflect a moment on the nature of virtue, on the nature of man. To generate those dispositions, to call forth those powers with which, by nature's wisest, most indissoluble law, true happiness can only be combined, is the greatest effort of goodness, the noblest scheme of wisdom. Were uninterrupted enjoyment connected with every object of sense, where then should we find that enduring patience, that meek submission to the will of heaven which subdues those fiercer passions of our frame, from whence disorder and misery would arise in the bosom even of paradise itself? Where then would be our field for the exertion of humanity in the distresses of our neighbour? It is the sense of our mutual weakness which powerfully contributes to endear us to each other; were there no troubles, therefore, in this mortal course, where would be the joys of friendship; those sacred joys which bind together the hearts of men in confidence and social love.

By the evils of humanity we are indeed distressed : to be without those evils, before the virtues are implanted, would distress us more. Pride and envy, and that greatest of all misfortunes, an unfeeling heart, would be the natural produce of a state from whence every kind of suffering, which we call evil, was excluded. If it be true, as unquestionably it is, that the social feelings render us susceptible of the sublimest pleasures, it is the goodness, not the vengeance of the almighty, which has placed us during this dawn of our existence, in a state which affords the most likely means for their production and happy growth. If the happiness of the human mind consist in action ; thanks to that indulgent heaven which has made it necessary for man to labour, before he can obtain the means of his subsistence ! If social joys be indeed desirable, as most desirable they are ; praised be that wisdom which, in our first formation, saw “ it was not good for man to be alone ” ! If the performing and receiving offices of mutual kindness be one of the sweetest, one of the noblest sources of our satisfaction ; glorified be that

that goodness which mutually subjected my neighbour and myself to distress and trouble, as, by these means, in our turn, we feel the pleasure of receiving benefits, and the still greater pleasure of conferring them ! If, as we are taught by the voice of reason, the future state, the heaven of man, will be a state wherein, unmolested by pain and trouble, we are to derive our happiness from the virtues here implanted in our hearts ; let us acknowledge and venerate the fitness of that dispensation, which, for a time, ordains us to bear our own, and each other's burthens in this mixed mortal scene, in order to render us capable of enjoying our own, and each others happiness, in a state which is immortal, and where pain shall be no more.

The religion of reason, lastly, calls upon us, from the knowledge of our maker, from the knowledge of his providence, to deduce the still more important knowledge of our duty. And here also, if the vehemence of passion would permit to us the free and unmolested exercise of our reason, the voice of religion might be plainly heard :

like a trumpet's sound, it would go forth to every nation under heaven, and, amidst the almost infinite variety of human laws and customs, would uniformly speak the same language unto all,—it would inform us, that we are all the children of one common father. We shall, therefore, all perform our duty, and, in consequence, shall all be happy, if we do our father's will. Nor hath he left himself in this instance without witness; nor involved in mysterious doubts and uncertainty the nature of those actions which he wills us to perform. He hath set us an example in that goodness which causeth the sun to rise, which sendeth us rain and fruitful seasons, and which filleth our hearts with joy and gladness. If then the author of all being, the fountain of all bliss, perpetually exert his power in the production of good, we may rest assured, that it is our duty, according to our several capacities, to imitate the God of nature, and to do likewise. The great end of true religion is to purify human nature, and to assimilate it to the divine. If, as we grow in wisdom, we improve in virtue; if, as riches increase

crease, our gratitude to God become more fervent, and our beneficence to our neighbour more extensive ; if the means of social intercourse humanize our hearts, and meliorate our affections ; if, in our respective spheres of action, we sincerely endeavour to co-operate with the almighty in his darling works of mercy and of love ; we may be confident that, in due time, we shall be partakers of his joy. To acquire, therefore, the possession of such a principle as teaches us to look upon all men, however distinguished by climate, language, sect, or party, as the children of one indulgent parent, and induces us, in every word and action, to regard their interests with a brother's love, is the sum and substance of all human duty. Do this and thou shalt live. Cease then, O philosopher ! from thy laborious search ; the greatest good of man, is found ; he no longer shall complain of perpetual disappointment, for most assuredly the man, whose primary aim and constant endeavour is to make others happy, shall himself be happy.

“ But

“ But when, and where shall he be happy ?” the voice of doubt again exclaims. “ Do we not see him growing up like a flower; and, like a flower withering beneath the blast of heaven, gradually decay; until, at length, with an intire privation of thought and consciofness, he drops into the tomb? Where then is the boast of reason, the expected reward of doing well, the continual feast of conscience, the everlasting fruits of virtue ?”

In a word, we answer. “ Reason leads us, from the knowledge of our creator, to hope for an hereafter; but the gospel confirms that hope beyond the possibility of disappointment. The evidence of a man, who was himself raised from the dead, in proof of a doctrine, whose primary aim is to assure us of our resurrection, is incontestible, and carries with it irresistible persuasion to every attentive mind. The moral perfections of the soul, the virtues of the rational mind, touched by the rude hand of death, may perhaps, like the flower of the evening, close for a time their yet imperfect forms; but the gloomy night, and darkness of the grave shall quickly pass, the morning of the resurrection

rection shall arrive ; they shall then expand their fragrant blossoms beneath the influence of brighter suns, and flourish in the possession of an eternal day."

Such appears to be the religion of nature, and the gospel. We will now proceed, as we proposed at first, to trace its beneficial effects upon every scene of social life.

Religion, consisting in the proper culture of the affections of the mind, respecting God and man, must, by its very nature, be essential to that happiness, which God, the maker of man, hath intended for his creatures. He it is who hath placed us in the several relations of father, brother, friend. The pleasures which spring from the performance of the correspondent duties, are ordained by him, from whom every capacity of happiness is derived. A perpetual attention, therefore, to the almighty's will ; a settled determination in our souls to resign our ways to his all-directing providence, must be most likely to produce the fruits of peace on earth ; most likely to inspire us with good-will towards men.

The fact is answerable to what reason would lead us to expect. Look round upon
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the world, and you will always find, that he whose soul is thoroughly informed with the principle of manly piety, is just and honourable in all his actions; that he will best perform the duty of a father to his children, whose heart is penetrated with a due sense of his own dependence on his father who is in heaven,—who, conscious of the blessings every moment conferred upon himself, will seek to communicate the means of happiness to those, who are formed by the almighty to be, for a time, dependent on his bounty.

It is a consideration of a similar kind which expands our affections beyond the limits of domestic duty, when, conscious of our obligations to that community from which we receive, as members, the fruits of a parental love, we regard that community with a filial reverence. In vain shall we expect to meet with an heart truly animated with zeal for its country's cause, in a breast which is destitute of piety to God. Let history unfold her instructive page; her records will establish the truth of this great, this important maxim,—that there is no reliance upon that steady persevering virtue which true patriotism

patriotism requires, where the principles of religion and of public spirit are not inseparably united.

The desire of being serviceable to our country is indeed the most exalted passion that can animate the bosom of a citizen. And although few are called to sit in the great assembly of the nation, or to direct those counsels upon which the interests of the public more immediately depend; yet every man, however humble his station, may find opportunities of showing his filial affection, and public spirit: every man may prove himself worthy, in these respects, to be esteemed a valuable member of the community, by uniting with the exercise of his private duties, those instances of self-denial, fidelity, and affectionate exertion, which are the effect of that pure and transporting sentiment, the love of our country.

But it is chiefly in the more private walks of social life that we are to look for the more constant operation of the religious principle. There, every day and every hour presents us with occasions to interest the humanity of others, and opportunities to
exercise

exercise our own. When outward troubles are ready to overwhelm us ; when adversity approaches ; when we look round, and tremble lest a friend be no where found ; from whom are we most likely to meet with succour and support ? In such distress, we do not flee to him whose soul, attached to sordid cares, in every thought regarding self alone, acknowledges no other fountain of his bliss, no other partner of his joy : in such distress, we do not flee to him whose heart, devoted to the blandishments of pleasure, is equally a stranger to the social feelings ; but to him who, in whatever degree he enjoys the blessings of heaven, considers himself as the dispenser of them to his brethren ; who, knowing, and with grateful heart acknowledging, that he hath nothing which he hath not received, shews his dependence upon the almighty giver of all good by imitating his bounty, and evidences his gratitude to his heavenly father, by making happy those who are created in that father's likeness.

Let us represent to ourselves a scene, for many such there are, where poverty and
 pain,

pain, and sad disease, combine their utmost force to sink the sufferer in all the depths of woe ; let us further add the undeserved loss of reputation ; and, to complete the horrors of his state, let us suppose the subject of our contemplation has a spirit which can feel that loss. To the astonishment of the beholders, he shall support himself in the midst of this complicated distress ; nay, he shall rise nobly superior to all these evils : but whence ? His eye is fixed upon that crown of glory which religion appears to hold out to him from the skies ; his thoughts are intent upon the recompense of reward, being stedfast in the persuasion, “ that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate him from the love of God in Christ.”*

Nor can we be insensible of the consolations of religion in the distressful situation of an heart wounded with the loss of dear and justly valued friends. In vain we seek the
 scenes

* Rom. viii. 38. 39.

scenes of solitude and retirement ; it is in the scenes of solitude and retirement, that we recollect those graceful actions, that pleasing converse, the loss of which we then the most deplore : thus reflection adds to the sorrow of our state. Vain also the attempt, by plunging in business or dissipation, to shake off the oppressive load which bows our soul. Religion here appears the sole resource ; she gently pours her lenient balm into the afflicted bosom ; she points to the radiant sphere of heaven, to the future habitation of the blessed, to a state where every social satisfaction which our connection with this world hath afforded, shall be restored, with the addition of others without measure, and over which, destroying time shall in vain exert its power.

One scene yet remains to be described ; the favourite scene of virtue, the scene of death. When the man, supported by the recollection of many glorious and successful combats in the cause of virtue, looks upon the sorrows of surrounding friends, with pity and compassion,—upon the pangs of nature in his dissolution, without a sigh. The
sensations

sensations of the truly religious at that awful hour, imagination can with difficulty paint; they are such as we in vain shall endeavour to describe. But let it not be our endeavour rightly to conceive, let it not be our endeavour justly to describe the joys of the virtuous believer at his departing hour, let us rather labour that we may deserve to feel them.

The beneficial efficacy of religion, in controlling that selfish principle, to which all the disorders of human life are to be referred, is so apparent, that the worst of men have frequently been induced to assume the appearance of it, though their hearts are strangers to its real power and practice. Hypocrisy, therefore, itself bears testimony to our cause: it supposes that there is something in the form and composition of true religion, which renders it advantageous, and pleasing to man.

The importance of religion to dependent creatures is a truth so firmly founded, that the human heart, with unbidden veneration, bows down before it. From the apprehension of its importance, grafted on a proud or timid spirit, is derived the ex-

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istence of those horrid forms of superstition and enthusiasm which, by turns, have possessed, and laid waste the world.

But it is in vain, thou fairest gift of God to man ! that either superstition or enthusiasm would attempt to assume thy benignant aspect, and usurp thy peaceful honours. The baneful influence of both, on every scene of social life, betrays their counterfeited charms, and points them out to the discerning eye as the offspring of the enemy of God and man. The countenance of true religion is ever placid and serene : her hand pours forth the choicest blessings of the almighty ; her secret influence inspires our souls with patience, faith, and holy hope ; and, to sum up all, upon her graceful brow, she wears this everlasting motto, “ My ways are ways of pleasantness, and all my paths are peace.”

Now to the one, almighty, everlasting God, be ascribed all might, power, majesty, and dominion, through Jesus Christ our Lord !

III.

PREACHED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF
CAMBRIDGE, MARCH 28, 1773. AND AT
THE VISITATION OF THE ARCHDEA-
CON OF SUFFOLK, SEPTEMBER 25, THE
SAME YEAR.

M A T T. V. 16.

“ LET YOUR LIGHT SO SHINE BEFORE
MEN, THAT THEY MAY SEE YOUR GOOD
WORKS, AND GLORIFY YOUR FATHER
WHICH IS IN HEAVEN.”

THE only expression in my text, which
has the least appearance of difficulty, is con-
tained in its concluding clause. We may
see and acknowledge the propriety of a pre-
cept, injoining us to display our religious
attainments, and our moral virtues in the
sight of men; but yet may be at a loss to
determine, in what manner our heavenly fa-
ther will be glorified by such a conduct.

The genuine sense of this passage will,

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however,

however, soon disclose itself upon a proper attention to the discriminating character of the christian dispensation, and a just comparison of the words in question with similar modes of speech in holy writ.

The expectations of a temporal messiah among the jews, and the depraved state of mind induced into the gentile world, by the cultivation of a false philosophy, had so far blinded the understandings, and debauched the morals of that race of men, to whom the religion of the gospel was revealed, that there is too much reason to suppose, without the aid of prophetic illumination, that its true and holy doctrines would be, in a manner, universally rejected; and its preachers exposed to every form of persecution, and distress.

It may also be observed that the religion contained in this last best gift of the almighty, was altogether of an heavenly temper. A religion, which, though favourable to principles of liberty and independence, yet looked with equal indifference upon every form of civil power, then established in the world; a religion, friendly indeed to every institution which is calcu-

lated to promote the temporal happiness of man; but primarily intended to inform the minds of individuals with those pious and benevolent affections, which prepare us for the enjoyment of more substantial gratifications in a better state.

From these considerations, we may easily collect it to be the intention of the creator, that this religion, though, at first, it was to be supported by plain and evident tokens of the divine interposition in its favour, should afterwards extend itself by the innate force of its own intrinsic excellence, and by the full display of those moral beauties, which, however counteracted in their operation, for a time, by opposing violence, and other obstructions of a temporary nature, would at length be found to exert an irresistible influence over the human mind.

It seems, therefore, that the author of our religion, in this place, exhorts his followers to endeavour to diffuse the knowledge of the gospel, and to extend its influence, by an experimental display of its reforming power upon themselves. A manly, noble, gene-

rous method of proceeding! which, had it been strictly conformed to in every succeeding generation, would, before this period, have rendered the religion of the gospel, the religion of the world.

This exposition is confirmed by the particular import of the words, when compared with similar expressions in the sacred writings.

When Jesus exhorts his hearers to acknowledge the justice of his claims to the character of a teacher sent from God, he assures them, that whosoever had seen him, had seen the father; * that whosoever received him, received him that sent him. † From which passages, as well as many others of the same kind, we may with certainty infer, that the seeing, ‡ the receiving, §
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* John xiv. 9.

† Matt. x. 40.

‡ “ If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin; but now they have both seen, and hated both me and my father.”
John xv. 24.

§ “ Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that receiveth whomsoever I send, receiveth me: and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me.” John xiii. 20.

the knowing,* the glorifying† of the father, in scripture-acceptation, imply the same, as the acknowledging the authority of that person whom the father sent: and here denote an intire, unreserved assent to that system of religion, which he was commissioned by the father to reveal.

Among the various sources of assent, there are none which operate so successfully as those, wherein we are conscious of exerting the voluntary powers of the mind. Religious principles may be the offspring of terror; may be impressed by education; but when they are the produce of serious, ear-

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* “ Then said they unto him, where is thy father? Jesus answered, ye neither know me, nor my father; if ye had known me, ye should have known my father also. John viii. 19.—“ If ye had known me, ye should have known my father also: and from henceforth ye know him, and have seen him.” John xiv. 7.

† “ And there came a fear on all: and they glorified God, saying, that a great prophet is risen up among us; and, that God hath visited his people.” Luke vii. 16.—“ Therefore when he was gone out, Jesus said, now is the son of man glorified, and God is glorified in him. If God be glorified in him, God shall also glorify him in himself, and shall straightway glorify him.” John xiii. 31 and 32.

ness, and dispassionate attention, they always are found to be more deeply infixed in the recesses of the soul, and to exert a more extensive influence over the affections of the heart.

It is the desire of happiness which calls forth these voluntary powers, and animates us to investigate that mode of action which is most likely to be conducive to our interest. And, therefore, if upon inquiry it should appear that the profession of a particular religion is attended in the person who acknowledges its influence, by a superior quantity of real enjoyment, the desire of partaking of that enjoyment, will naturally induce us to examine minutely into its sources, and, at length, to adopt the principle, from which such beneficial practice flows.

The force of this observation may perhaps appear still stronger by an obvious analogy.

Let us suppose that the inhabitants of a certain district are observed to enjoy a more than ordinary degree of activity and strength: let us further suppose, that their minds are, in a remarkable manner, exempt from in-
flaming

flaming passions ; their bodies from the influence of disease : and lastly, that their days are extended to the utmost verge of human life.

The singularity of these appearances would invite us to attend to all the circumstances of the case ; and the love of happiness implanted in our frame, would add new vigour to that curiosity, which is so natural to the mind of man. Persons of all principles, sects, and parties, forgetting their mutual animosities, would think themselves interested in inquiring into those secret springs and causes, which produced such extraordinary effects : and, upon the discovery of them, would be powerfully impelled to adopt those principles, and to imitate that mode of conduct, which, upon experiment, had been found so beneficial to our species : all other motives and incentives to any course of action must be ineffectual, if these will not succeed. We act in every instance upon the expectation of enjoyment : and when we fail of this our grand pursuit, we err through mistake, or ignorance of the means. But, when the cause and effect are visibly united ;

united ; when we behold the principle exerting itself in the actual production of a real good, to refuse our assent to the principle, or not to imitate the practice, would be to disown those affections, which operate most powerfully in the direction of the will:

Let us now apply the same method of reasoning to the case in question.

If it be observed, that the persons who make profession of a particular religion are more equitable in their dealings, more sincere in their deportment, more friendly in their mutual intercourses, than the inhabitants of the nations that surround them ; that they are also distinguished by an industrious application of their various talents to the duties of their respective callings ; that the fervent heart of every citizen glows with the ardour of disinterested affection to his country : that integrity, honour, mildness, and soft-eyed compassion regulate their demeanour in every walk of private life ; that, steady in the practice of each social virtue, they taste with transport the various bounties of indulgent providence, and offer, in return, that tribute, which is most pleasing

ing to the almighty, the tribute of a grateful heart. That when the unavoidable evils of humanity afflict them, they turn their thoughts to the supreme disposer of all events with that submissive patience, with that holy resignation to the will of heaven, which teaches them to look upon the things of this world with the indifference of a guest, who tarries but a day : that, in the hour of their departure, they resign, with filial confidence, their souls to that good being, from whom they received each capacity of thought and action, and lie down in death, secure of rising to the possession of every genuine satisfaction, of every grateful enjoyment which the heart can conceive, or the God, who endued that heart with the perception of pleasure, can bestow—how weak and inefficacious is every other argument in favour of a particular persuasion, when compared with this ! and, how strong a presumption does it afford us of the truth of the religion we profess, that, instead of founding her authority on force, she always appeals to her peaceful triumphs over the discordant passions, and opposing vices of mankind !

Arrayed

Arrayed in garments dipped in blood, let the impostor go forth conquering, and to conquer, wherever the turkish crescent awes the prostrate nations. Let the still more tremendous terrors of the inquisition guard thy faith, O antichristian Rome ! The religion of the gospel will ever be distinguished by her calm appeal unto the light of reason, and evidence her title to our strict obedience, by her healthful operation on the soul of man.

The particular circumstances of the world, when first the religion of Jesus was unfolded, throw further light upon this benevolent precept of the prince of peace.

We may comprise the difficulties, with which the first propagators of the gospel had to contend, in two short observations.

It might naturally be expected, that the jews would hold it in abhorrence, because it tended to deprive them of every flattering expectation of that temporal grandeur, for which they fondly wished, and which no consideration of a merely spiritual nature could induce them to resign.

And the gentiles would naturally be inclined

clined to hold it in abhorrence, as it directly struck at that idolatrous worship, and immoral conduct, which were countenanced by every established institution, whether of a civil or a religious kind.

In such circumstances, had its founders endeavoured to support it by the strength of human power, its duration would, probably, have terminated almost in the moment of its appearance, and even the history of its destruction have been to us unknown.

Had they endeavoured to raise it upon the ruins of preceding establishments by the aid of political contrivance, it would probably, in the common course of human affairs, have yielded to political contrivance in its turn: and the recorded declaration of its author, that "the gates of hell should not prevail against it," have become an undeniable evidence of its having originated in falshood and imposture. It seems, therefore, that any mode of conduct, different from that which was pursued by the primitive professors of the gospel, in obedience to the advice of their divine instructor, could

could not have been attended with a similar success.

Religion had so frequently been rendered subservient to political interests, and selfish purposes, that men justly called for some less equivocal evidence of the truth of a system, which claimed to itself a right of directing the conduct of mankind. That evidence was afforded in its fullest lustre, when the softened manners, and the heavenly temper of christian people, were proposed as the demonstration of the truth, and purity of christian faith.

By the fruits of the gospel, manifested in each part of the irreproachable demeanour of its true disciples, their adversaries were invited to judge of the tree from which they sprang. They were invited to contemplate the mighty powers of a religion, which could disarm the mind of anger, in the moment of its fiercest resentment; and finally prevail over every incentive to those crimes, which, as appeared from sad experience, human laws were found unable to restrain. At a time when every unworthy inclination reigned in the place of those affections, to
which

which we owe the comforts of domestic life, men were invited to behold the power of this religion, in triumphing over every lawless indulgence, every licentious practice, which the violence of distorted imagination, aided by the strength of inveterate custom, had established in the world. They were invited to behold the influence of this religion in inspiring that breast with pious sentiments, which was formerly the seat of irreligion, and profaneness; in generating the principles of an upright, honest, friendly, and beneficent deportment in that heart, which was deformed by every passion which could render us odious to our neighbour, and miserable to ourselves.

These fruits of the faith, produced an animated attention to the christian cause. Upon examination into the principles of conduct recommended in the gospel, they appeared to be such as might reasonably be supposed to form the most effectual inducements to every worthy action; they derived an influence, permanent, as well as transcendent, from that glorious hope of immortality, which, in preference to those opi-
nions

nions that have so long unworthily divided the disciples of Jesus, forms the grand, and fundamental article of the christian creed; and the effects produced in consequence of this belief were themselves a testimony, that the evidence, by which this important truth was supported, rested on the solid basis of unquestionable fact.

To a deflection from the purity and simplicity of manners, which were so eminently conspicuous in the earlier ages of christianity, we are to ascribe the inconsiderable progress of the gospel in succeeding times. Hence, at this day, the pious disciple of the benevolent Jesus, mourns that the religion of his master is bounded by the limits of kingdoms, and of nations; and, that in so many portions of the habitable earth, its profession, or its influence, is even still unknown. We bear the name of christian indeed; to every region of the globe; but, at the same time, we bear along with it those horrid forms of vice, by which that name is dishonoured, and defiled. The inhabitants of many a distant clime, astonished at the contrariety between
our

our professions and our practice, are justly induced to suspect that we ourselves believe not the doctrines we inculcate; and, therefore, may with reason hold fast that form of faith, which their more virtuous ancestors have established in their land.

The obligation to adorn a christian profession by a christian practice, rises with the increasing profligacy of these degenerate times.

There are, indeed, moments of distress and danger, in which even the heart of the most licentious infidel is chilled by the severity of his own reflections: But, how unlike to the effects of true religion are the impressions thus produced in a mind like this! His soul is astonished and overwhelmed by the horrors of a superstition which still degrades it more; but, as his danger disappears, his apprehensions of futurity vanish; and his infidel manners, and dissolute profaneness return with his returning health. Thus religion becomes, in his idea, another name for weakness: and the reflections, which she ought to raise within the breast, upon every view of our mortality, are referred to the

class of those mental wanderings, which are frequently observed to take place, when the flesh and the heart begin to fail.

In such times, therefore, it concerns the real friends of the gospel to convince their brethren, that the religion they profess, is the source of calm composure; the parent of every sober joy; that it containeth sanctifications, naturally productive of a virtuous, uniform, consistent character, and fitted to restore to its proper dignity, the mind of man.

He then is religion's truest friend, who adorns his profession by works of piety and virtue; he best will vindicate it from the aspersions of its foes. "You traduce," he will say, "by words, the character and pretensions of Jesus: I refute you by my works. You urge, perhaps, that my understanding is only nominally convinced by his doctrine: but the constant tenor of my conduct shall prove to you, that I have no temptation to such deceit: for every unworthy affection of my heart is subdued to the persuasion of its truth. You suppose, that, in the time of danger, superstitious horrors shall invade me;

me; but I will shew you, that my mind is composed and tranquil, submissive in all things to the will of heaven, and in the hour of death, with holy hope, confiding in its God.”*

* [This sermon concluded, originally, with a very close and animated application to the case of the clergy; but as the author afterwards inserted this conclusion, verbatim, in No. 13, of “ Every man his own priest,” it was thought unnecessary to annex it here.—See vol. iii. p. 233.]

Received of Mr. J. H. [illegible]
the sum of [illegible] dollars
for [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Witness my hand and seal
this [illegible] day of [illegible] 1845
at [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible signature]

[illegible text]

[illegible text]

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[illegible text]

IV.

1 S A M. XV. 22.

“AND SAMUEL SAID, HATH THE LORD AS GREAT DELIGHT IN BURNT-OFFERINGS AND SACRIFICES, AS IN OBEYING THE VOICE OF THE LORD? BEHOLD! TO OBEY IS BETTER THAN SACRIFICE; AND TO HEARKEN, THAN THE FAT OF RAMS.”

THE weakness of mankind, in every age and country, hath induced them to hope, that the performance of the external rites of religion will atone for their failure in the substantial deeds of virtue: and, it is to be feared, that even the ministers of religion, have too frequently countenanced this delusion; until, at length, they have confirmed an error, which the folly of the superstitious multitude, hath always rendered them too willing to embrace. We find, however, from the portion of scripture just recited, that Samuel, though himself a priest, was too zealous for the real honour of his maker, to sacrifice the interests of true religion to any

outward form, although that form was instituted by God himself; nor, led by servile flattery, or slavish fear, could he be prevailed upon to dissemble his indignation, on account of the violated laws of God, although the daring offender was a king.

The same fatal error, into which Saul appears to have fallen, prevails still amongst the professors of a religion, more pure and simple than that under which he lived: an error the less pardonable, as christianity expressly prescribes to us a worship of our maker, in holiness and truth. The gospel contains a religion which encourages the sacrifice of the affections, the tender of a heart deeply imbued with a sense of manly piety and virtue; the noblest and the most acceptable sacrifice which a creature can offer, the most honourable which the creator can receive.

Let us look round upon the face of nature; let us behold the wonderful fabric of the universe, the numerous ranks and orders of living creatures which inhabit it, and learn from thence, that the God of nature delighteth in works of mercy, in labours of love. Man, formed in his image
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and similitude, can, then, only hope to taste enjoyment, when he imitates this fair example; and, from the exercise of his benevolent affections, rises to the adoration of the creator, who is blessed for ever. The performance, therefore, of such actions as naturally flow from our admiration of such unbounded love, is the sum and substance of all religious duty: whosoever persevereth in the practice of them must be happy.

Such is the religion which reason dictates, and which, therefore, the God of reason must approve.

Let us now attend to the religion of the priest; of him, I mean, who, bound by his profession to an implicit veneration for forms and ceremonies, and permitted in his doctrine to preach only the opinions of the church in which he ministers, is too apt to mistake the spirit of establishments for the spirit of devotion, and to forget, with Saul, that “to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken, than the fat of rams.” He will tell you, that religion consisteth in the profession of a particular form of faith, and in the constant attendance upon the ser-

vice of the church. He will tell you, that it is your duty to be daily present in the courts of the most high, in order that you may be entitled to those spiritual blessings, which are dispensed by the ministers of the gospel, and may receive, from their hands, the benefit of absolution. He will tell you, that, before all things, it is necessary that you hold the catholic faith; and then, 'tis well, if he proceeds not to insult your understanding with such a description of that faith, as neither himself, nor his hearers can ever comprehend. He will tell you, that it is better not to pray at all, than to pray in any form or manner which is not authorized by the sanction of the church: he will tell you, that you ought to make use of the forms prescribed in his liturgy, although you do not understand them; and, that it is profaneness to neglect them, although you should think they contain addresses to a being, whom you do not allow to be the object of adoration. He will talk much of the benefit of faith, in opposition to the benefit of works; and will instruct you to rely upon the merits of your saviour,

until

until you shall become intirely careles, whether you have any virtues of your own: in your departing hour, he shall stand before you in the sacred vestments of his order; you shall look up to him for absolution, while he, a poor, weak, sinful mortal like yourselves, shall assume to himself the title of the ambassador of God; and, though your life has been deformed by every kind of vice, shall, in the name of the father, son, and holy ghost, assure you of the pardon of your sins. Such are the delusions which, on one side, the ignorance or the policy of priests has substituted for the solid foundations of true religion; delusions, no less fallacious than those groundless terrors with which, on the other, they have too frequently invested her. But as religion was not intended to terrify, so neither must it be employed to deceive mankind, by flattering us with false assurances, on the bed of death; by asserting, that faith alone, at our departing hour, will atone for the crimes of a mispent life; and, by thus teaching us to rely upon the mercy, encourage us to defy the justice of our judge.

How widely different is the religion of
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the gospel ; and how strong a presumption does it afford us of its truth, that, instead of thus founding her dominion on the fears and follies of her votaries, she always appeals to the light of reason, and to her peaceful triumphs over the vices of an opposing world.

The religion of the gospel was indulged us as the sweet consoler of our cares. The spectre of superstition, which looks down with horrid aspect on the innocent pursuits of human life ; which diffuses a damp and gloom over our minds, when engaged in the proper duties of our station, and teaches us to confide in mysterious modes of faith, in empty ceremonies, and unavailing forms, is more at variance with the will of God, is more opposed to the happiness of man, than the most daring form of infidelity itself.

Are then the ordinances of the most high, which direct us to reverence his sanctuaries, and to comply with those forms and ceremonies, which decency and good order shall require, of no avail ? Is the sacred character of the priest so lightly to be esteemed ? and, are the offices of religion performed by him utterly contemptible in our eyes ? I answer ;
yes,

yes, they are altogether lighter than vanity itself, unless they produce the fruits of piety and virtue in the heart. Are you struck with the boldness of this reply? remember, it is not mine—the question has been long determined by an authority which you cannot dispute: “To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices to me? saith the lord; bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons, and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting: your new moons, and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them.”*

The solemn exercises of religion, the external forms of devotion, the rites and ceremonies of various nations, have all a tendency to raise, to revive, to confirm the persuasion of an almighty providence, the sense of human weakness, and the necessity and essential excellence of virtue; and, when they are employed to such purposes, they indeed are useful. The imperfection of our frame is such, that perhaps it may be necessary

* Isaiah i. 11—14.

cessary for the imagination to be affected, before the understanding and the disposition can be improved. But, if they be relied on, as possessing in themselves intrinsic merit, they are nothing worth ; the observance of them gives us no title to the rewards of heaven. While, on the other hand, there is no little danger lest the pride and self-sufficiency which they frequently inspire, should carry the ignorant, and deluded worshipper, still further from the knowledge and the acceptance of his God.

Religious rites and ceremonies are but the steps to piety and virtue. And are of no avail, if they lead not to such actions, as alone can demonstrate our conformity to the will of heaven. The generality of mankind have indeed, too frequently, confounded them with each other, they have even preferred them to the performance of the weightier matters of the law : not unlike to those who paid the tithe of mint, of anise, and of cummin ; while they omitted the weightier matters of the law, justice, mercy, and faith :* who, with superstitious reverence

* Matt. xxiii 23.

rence built the tombs of the prophets,* whom their fathers slew; while they persecuted and oppressed those greater than the prophets, whom the almighty had sent in mercy to themselves.

Religious rites and ceremonies are only the shadows of piety and virtue: it is our duty to pursue the substances themselves. Feign to yourselves the character of a man most strict in his observance of outward forms, and, at the same time, a stranger to the real power of virtue. He is regular and attentive at the hour of prayer; but he is deficient in that integrity and purity of manners, which alone can render prayer acceptable to God: he is fearfully observant of every form and ordinance which superstition hath invented, and custom, that steady guardian of every absurdity, hath established: but he is neglectful of his duty to his neighbour; he is unjust in his dealings, and uncharitable in all his commerce with his brethren. Will rites and ceremonies be of any avail, in such a case as this? They shall indeed be remembered; but remembered to his confusion: they shall severely aggravate

* Matt. xxiii. 29.

aggravate his future condemnation. Another shall, with low prostration, grovel at God's altar ; while he disdainfully tramples on his fellow creature, who is formed in God's likeness. He shall build a temple to his maker's praise ; while the heart of the widow and the orphan, who frequent it, shall inly mourn because of his oppression : the priest, at his departing hour, shall assure him that his alms and his prayers are ascended as a memorial in the sight of the almighty ; while the cry of the labourer, who hath reaped his fields, without receiving a reward, hath pierced the ears of the God of harvests. Shall this man be blessed in his deed ? Shall the judgment of the creature prevail, in defiance of those laws of righteousness which invariably annex the enjoyment of happiness to the practice of piety and virtue ? Most assuredly not. The almighty shall arise in his displeasure ; the tremendous majesty of heaven shall reverse the iniquitous decree ; shall consign the violator of the laws of justice and humanity to swift destruction. Still more fearful shall be the doom of him, who taught him to place external forms and ceremonies upon the same foundation

dation with substantial acts of justice and benevolence.

A breast, replenished with the sense of the greatness of the creator, and of the weakness of the creature; a mind, disposed to acknowledge God, as the author of every blessing we enjoy, and ready to repay the only tribute in our power, the tribute of gratitude and love; an heart which glows at the prospect of a neighbour's happiness, and is ever labouring to diminish the weight of human woe, is the noblest temple that can be erected to our maker's praise. The virtues exemplified in the various scenes of social life, are its most beautiful ornaments: where these are found, the piety of peasants, assembled in their humble dwellings, is more pleasing to the lord of heaven, than the most pompous pageantry of priests and kings: these shall avail, shall draw down blessings from the throne of the most high, shall bring them upon our children and our childrens children; while the vain and ostentatious worship of the proud, the unfeeling, and the unjust; so far from atoning for their guilt, shall swell the measure of the almighty's vengeance.

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Yet, let us be careful that we fall not into an error, which, though not so pernicious as that which I have hitherto been describing, is frequently productive of very fatal consequences. It has been asserted, and, I trust, with truth, that external forms and ceremonies, if not attended with the affections of the heart; that the outward profession of religion, if not accompanied with its vital powers, are a vain and empty show. But let us not conclude from hence, that they may safely be neglected. If these affections of the mind could readily be attained without the forms and ceremonies of religion, such form and ceremonies would indeed be useless. But the contrary is true. The devotion of the heart will languish, unless it be continually refreshed and enlivened by joining in solemn acts of public worship. And, as words and signs are necessary to convey our thoughts to each other, so, in this imperfect state, they are absolutely required, whenever we would raise our hearts to the first and best of beings, the sustainer of our bliss, the source and fountain of our joy. Do we not find that absenting ourselves from the stated places of
 God's

God's service is apt to diminish our sense of his immediate presence, and to prevent us from enjoying that security from vice, that complacency in virtue, which arises from the acknowledgment of him in all our thoughts and actions? Nor are these habitual practices less interesting to others than to ourselves: when we abstain for any length of time from those hallowed courts, where, laying aside the distinctions which make us so to differ from our brethren, we approach the majesty of heaven as weak, dependent creatures; we are apt to forget those ties of humanity which cause us to feel the miseries of others, which animate our endeavours to relieve them. A carelessness and indifference to our immortal interests is a too probable consequence of such neglect. Piety and virtue themselves are in danger of expiring, unless rekindled by that flame which burns upon the altar of God; unless revived by the breath of mortals uniting with us in ardent, solemn, sacred supplication to the throne of heaven.

The true, the conscientious christian, will, therefore, conduct himself with a careful en-

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deavour

deavour to avoid such errors in his practice: he will regard, with due attention, the solemn exercises of public worship, because he knows that the inward purity of his heart is improved by them; but he will guard against all undue reliance upon such services: he will consider them as helps to virtue, and not as constituting the real essence of devotion: he knows that, as he is sent into this world by the God of reason and of nature to fulfil his pleasure, his real service must consist in the imitation of his creator's bounty, and the intire resignation of his will to the will of the supreme: he is sensible how much mankind are influenced by what strikes the imagination and the senses; and will therefore cultivate in himself, and endeavour to promote in others, a manly piety, an unbounded benevolence, by all those outward assistances which religious forms, well purged from superstition, will naturally afford him: at the same time, he will be careful to distinguish between the outward profession, and the real practice of religion: he will consider the ministers of the gospel,

as

as invested with no greater sanctity than what their unblemished lives and conversations throw around them : he will not rely upon the rites and ordinances, administered by their hands, for mercy from his maker ; but will place his hope in those “ fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ, unto the glory and praise of God.”* He will not regard the depositing of his body in consecrated ground, as any protection from the avenging sentence ; but will look up to the mercy of a judge, himself acquainted with the weaknesses of humanity, who hath declared that “ with what measure men mete, it shall be measured to them again.”† He will refrain from every criminal action, through a just apprehension of the vengeance of a God of righteousness ; nor vainly hope to atone for the commission of grievous crimes, by the performance of empty rites, and unsubstantial ceremonies. With all his caution, he may yet offend with Saul ; but he will say with Samuel, “ hath the lord as

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great

* Philip. i. 11.

† Matt. vii. 2.

great delight in burnt sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the lord? behold! to obey is better than sacrifice; and to hearken, than the fat of rams."

In this obedience, therefore, to the laws of God and man, O christian! most firmly persevere. Thy name shall be remembered upon earth, thy reward shall be great in heaven. While perpetual fears shall haunt the guilty breast; while innumerable horrors shall affright the superstitious worshipper; inbred peace, the fruit of virtuous conduct, shall surround thy dwelling; and calm devotion, spread sweet tranquillity over every scene of life. Thy deeds of justice, thy labours of love, shall engage the regard and friendship of man; and thy habits of true religion shall ensure the approbation of thy God. In the vale of death, thou shalt look up with transport to that unfading crown of glory, now ready to reward thy toils: the evils of life, like the stars of heaven, have their appointed course; they shall set like them—they shall rise no more: an eternal day of happiness shall succeed the night of human pain and woe.

woe. If thou hast fought the good fight of persevering virtue; if thus thou hast kept the faith; retire in peace: the gloom and darkness of the grave shall quickly pass, and thou shalt rise to an immortal life, to the possession of endless joy.

Now to the one, almighty, everlasting God, be ascribed all might, majesty, and dominion for ever and ever! Amen!

The first of the year was a very cold one, and the weather was very disagreeable. The wind was very strong, and the rain was very heavy. The snow was very deep, and the ice was very thick. The people were very much distressed, and the animals were very much starved. The crops were very much damaged, and the stock was very much lost. The people were very much distressed, and the animals were very much starved. The crops were very much damaged, and the stock was very much lost.

The second of the year was a very warm one, and the weather was very pleasant. The wind was very light, and the rain was very light. The snow was very light, and the ice was very light. The people were very much pleased, and the animals were very much content. The crops were very much improved, and the stock was very much increased. The people were very much pleased, and the animals were very much content. The crops were very much improved, and the stock was very much increased.

The third of the year was a very cold one, and the weather was very disagreeable. The wind was very strong, and the rain was very heavy. The snow was very deep, and the ice was very thick. The people were very much distressed, and the animals were very much starved. The crops were very much damaged, and the stock was very much lost. The people were very much distressed, and the animals were very much starved. The crops were very much damaged, and the stock was very much lost.

V.

A C T S X. 34, 35.

“ THEN PETER OPENED HIS MOUTH, AND SAID OF A TRUTH I PERCEIVE THAT GOD IS NO RESPECTER OF PERSONS ; BUT, IN EVERY NATION, HE THAT FEARETH HIM, AND WORKETH RIGHTEOUSNESS, IS ACCEPTED WITH HIM.”

THE primary meaning of these words will be best understood, if we attend a little to the general circumstances, under which the gospel was at first promulgated ; and the peculiar impressions, with which the mind of the speaker had been recently affected.

We are to reflect, then, that there had long prevailed among the jews a general opinion, that the kingdom of the expected messiah was to be intirely of a temporal nature ; that, invested with the ensigns of royal dignity, he was not only to deliver them from that state of bondage under which they groaned ; but also to raise them to a degree of grandeur, far superior to whatever they had enjoyed, in the most flourishing period of power : and, although the disciples of

Jesus, after the resurrection and ascension of their divine instructor, became, at length, justly sensible, that the blessings of the messiah's reign were purely spiritual; yet so much of their former prejudice remained, as to induce them to believe, that the descendants of Abraham had an exclusive title to the glorious privileges of the gospel-dispensation. And history assures us, that this prejudice was not easily removed. For, notwithstanding the information derived from the miraculous effusion of the holy spirit on the day of pentecost, a particular revelation was afforded to Peter, before he was convinced, that "God, in truth, was no respecter of persons." Nor was it 'till after the same spirit had descended upon Cornelius, and those who were with him, that the other apostles could be brought to own, "that unto the gentiles also, God had granted repentance unto life." *

An opinion, similar to that which perplexed Peter, perplexes many at this day. Raised to the enjoyment of evangelical privileges, they vainly imagine, that, as christians, they have a right to plead an appropriated title to the favour of heaven, from
which,

* Acts xi 18.

which, the innumerable tribes, yet sunk in heathen ignorance and darkness, are excluded; and that a compliance with the laws of the almighty, so far as the light of nature shall discover them, is totally insufficient to recommend them to his acceptance. But the same method of reasoning which might have led Peter to acknowledge, that, in the dispensation of christian privileges, God is no respecter of persons; may instruct us, that no mode of faith, or religious persuasion whatever, will, in case of a virtuous beneficent practice, be able hereafter to separate us from our creator's love.

I am well aware that an opinion directly contrary to this has hitherto prevailed under various establishments; and that the articles of our own church have even pronounced those "accursed who presume to say, that a man may be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature:"* but as the same church professes that "it is not lawful for her to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's written word;"† I shall make no scruple to lay before you such considerations as have produced,

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in my own mind, the fullest conviction, that such a doctrine hath no foundation either in reason, or scripture ; but ought to be reprobated at once, as impious towards God, and uncharitable towards men.

It would be contrary to all ideas of justice, to suppose that a righteous and merciful creator expects that from his creatures, which they are utterly unable to perform. Many of God's creatures have nothing to direct them, except the light of nature;* except the maxims and doctrines of their sect. If such conform their lives and conversations to this law, shall not they be accepted by their maker, by the father of the spirits of all flesh, by that all-righteous being, whose tender mercies are over all his works? He would rather pardon my denial of his existence, than my doubts of the justice, and mercy of his judgments.†

But,

* “ For when the gentiles which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these having not the law, are a law unto themselves.” Rom. ii. 14.

† The servant who had received only two talents, yet having improved them equally with the servant who had been entrusted with five, received the same commendation, and was ordered to enter into the joy of his lord. But the unprofitable servant, who had hidden his talent in the earth, and had dared to suspect the justice of his lord, was ordered to be cast into outer darkness. Matt. xxv. 14—30.

But, it may be asked, has not the almighty himself shewn some degree of partiality in his dealings with the sons of men? What judgment are we to form of that immense variety in the nature and degree of those capacities and enjoyments, which distinguish from each other, the innumerable creatures of his almighty hand? To what, but a partial fondness, are we to attribute the indulgence of those superior powers, which are given with such profusion, to his favourite creature, man? From what other motive shall we account for the different measures of happiness, by which men are distinguished from each other? Whence is it that he grants unto this happy land, that equal temperature, which blesses its inhabitants with the verdure of spring, with the fruits of autumn; while he condemns unnumbered tribes to wander through the sultry desert, through the polar snows? Whence is it that he commands whole nations to bow beneath the yoke of stern oppression, that he withholds from them the means of extracting the “iron which enters into their souls;” while he blesses us with the enjoyment of liberty, his noblest gift,

together

together with that high-born spirit, and impatience of control, which constitutes our best security against the encroachments of despotic power? To what, but a partial fondness, are we to impute that measure of his administration, which ordains that half his habitable earth shall lie in heathen ignorance and darkness; that the baneful form of superstition shall erect her gloomy standard in almost every region of the globe; while we enjoy, or certainly have the power of enjoying, the meridian splendors of the gospel light.

These are objections of a serious nature; these deserve an answer. We will, therefore, attempt, with the assistance of reason, and the gospel, to vindicate the ways of God to man.

It has frequently and justly been observed, that the sum of happiness is greater, if imperfect creatures be classed in various ranks and orders, with various powers and capacities of improvement, than if there were only one class, possessed of an absolute equality of endowments. If then this variety conduce to more extensive happiness in the natural state, the analogy may apply to our
present

present inquiry, not so much concerning the natural, as religious privileges of man : and the reason of the different dispensations in both, may be satisfactorily inferred from the same principle of diversified beneficence in the supreme disposer of all good.

But, in what respect are religious privileges different from natural goods ? The advantages which we enjoy in preference to our heathen neighbours, consist only in superior knowledge of our duty, and the superior weight of those motives which should induce us to perform it. The wise man, by the strength of his natural endowments, becomes superior to his neighbour ; because he is better acquainted with the probable events of things, and enjoys an habitual skill in choosing the means of content and happiness. The christian hath exactly a similar superiority over him, who is a stranger to the word of truth.

The wise man, who has his instruction from unassisted reason, is more determined in a course of virtue, than the illiterate herd around him ; because, with clearer eye, he can discern the presumptive evidence of its future great reward ; the believer in the
gospel

gospel, is enabled to persevere in the same paths of virtue still more steadily, than his unenlightened neighbour; because he founds his hopes, not on probabilities, but proofs; and looks with assured confidence, to the prospect of an eternal crown.

Wisdom, therefore, differs from the judgment of the generality only in degree; and a difference in degree, is the only difference between christianity and wisdom. Wisdom is a sublimer kind of skill in the œconomy of human life; and, christianity is a sublimer kind of wisdom.

The question then, “ why hath the almighty made so great a difference in the religious circumstances of his creatures?” is of a similar nature with another question, “ why hath he made so great a difference in their natural endowments?” The answer is the same to both; because it seemeth to him good; to him, who in manifold wisdom hath so tempered this diversity, as to be every where consistent with particular, and, in an higher degree, productive of general happiness.

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Let us rejoice, therefore, that God who, in wonderful subordination, hath constituted various ranks and orders of his creatures, hath placed us at their head ; hath elevated us to the powers and capacities of man. But, more let us rejoice, that he hath raised us above many of our fellows, by calling us to the acknowledgment of the gospel of his son.

Nor let us censure, as partial and unjust, that wisdom, which hath denied to others those graces, which it hath poured down with such rich profusion upon ourselves. Let us be thankful for our better hopes ; and leave the nations, which are involved in heathen ignorance, to the sure, though uncovenanted mercies of their God.

All this, it may be said, is the language of reason ; but is it the language of the scriptures ?

Hear then the words of the apostle, “ indignation and wrath ; tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doeth evil ; of the jew first, and also of the gentile : but glory, honour, and peace to every man that worketh good, to the jew first, and
also

also to the gentile ; for there is no respect of persons with God.”*

But, if the almighty respecteth not the person of the jew, neither will he respect the person of the christian. Thou compared with the heathen, art now in the same situation with the jew of old. Favourite of heaven ! tremble at the present bounty of thy God. A mistake, founded originally on uncharitableness and pride, has been unhappily supported by the political establishments of every christian country. People, observing that certain privileges and emoluments are granted exclusively to the professors of a particular faith, in consequence of such profession, are too apt to forget, that it is only in this world that such distinctions are allowed. Piety and virtue are the only commendations to our creator’s favour : they form the sole distinction, in the courts of heaven.

Ignorance, then, is not culpable where it is invincible ; nor is knowledge praiseworthy, except in proportion to the labour spent

* Romans ii. 8, 9. 10, 11:

spent in its acquirement, and the beneficent purposes to which it is directed.

The herds and flocks which graze upon thy pastures, enjoy their share of happiness with calm content: they neither envy the more rational enjoyments, nor are responsible for the superior advantages, and more splendid station of their lord. The unenlightened indian, the object of thy proud compassion, may do more than this; it may be, he rejoices that he is acquainted, neither with the faith, nor the crimes of christian men. And, it may be, with reason that he rejoices; for unless the tenor of thy life shall exactly correspond with the degree of knowledge which heaven hath afforded thee, thy fate shall be worse than his.

The knowledge of the gospel, therefore, is like the rest of the gifts of heaven, much to be prized, and carefully to be improved: but, if neglected, it must turn to our confusion.

In the indulgence of the primary powers and capacities of man; in the advantages arising from our birth in a christian country, we have reason to bless our creator's bounty,

in being thus furnished with the means of acquiring happiness : but the actual acquisition of it, must depend upon ourselves.

The different powers and capacities bestowed upon the different creatures of the almighty, are subject to no other rule than his own good pleasure : but, with respect to his judgments, the case is widely different. Reward and punishment imply previous merit and demerit ; they imply a nice attention to the circumstances and situation of the object, to the degree of knowledge, the violence of the temptation, and to innumerable other particulars, which, though they escape the notice of an earthly tribunal, are minutely recorded in the book of heaven. Scripture, holy scripture, always consistent with right reason and itself, represents all nations and kindreds of men as standing before the judgment-seat of Christ. Every plea, which can be urged in alleviation of a departure from the rules of righteousness, will there be admitted ; and, every circumstance, which has aggravated the guilt of the offender, will aggravate his condemnation. How much soever, therefore, the course of
justice

justice upon earth may be opposed by violence, or corrupted by deceit, in heaven it flows with an uninterrupted and unfulled stream; and happiness will ever be the fruit of true desert.

Know then all thou canst, but forget not to practise according as thou knowest; for, in proportion to the improvement of thy powers and capacities of action, shall be the future mercies of thy omniscient judge.

The name of christian is honourable; honourable also is the name of man; improve thy natural abilities; improve thy christian privileges; and great and happy shall be thy lot. Thou now art elevated above the beasts that perish; thou shalt rise in glory to the condition of angels, which incircle the throne of the ever blessed God.

But, will the same virtues which are required of the christian, be accepted also with equal complacency from the jew, the turk, the heathen, the infidel? Abundant reason have we to conclude so from this single consideration, that in every instance of divine communication, under every period of the

divine œconomy, such virtues are invariably and emphatically enjoined.

For “ what doth the lord require of thee ? ” saith the prophet Micah.* “ What doth the lord require of thee, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God ? ”

It is the advice of Solomon, to “ fear God, and keep his commandments ; for this is the whole duty of man.”† It is the assertion of one greater than Solomon : for “ when a certain lawyer stood up, and tempted Jesus, saying, Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life ? he said unto him, what is written in the law ? how readest thou ? And he, answering, said, thou shalt love the lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind ; and thy neighbour, as thyself. And he said unto him, thou hast answered right : this do, and thou shalt live.‡ And, by a practice conformable to this decision, he approved himself the saviour of the world.

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* Micah vi. 8.

† Eccles xii. 13.

‡ Luke x. 25, 26, 27, 28.

Lost in perpetual uncertainties and doubts, distracted with the various pursuits of an happiness, which cannot be obtained in these transitory scenes, the sons of men long wandered comfortless, and desponding, in the night of error; seduced by each alluring form of vice and immorality; a prey to melancholy and despair: but, when the sun of righteousness arose, the darkness of ignorance every where retired before its invigorating ray. Man, instructed by the sacred lessons of celestial wisdom, engaged with industry and ardour in the pursuit of virtue; and the assurance afforded in the gospel, that the almighty being, who first created us, and breathed into us the breath of life, will re-animate each nobler faculty of the soul, though slumbering in the dust, gave a strength and efficacy to the exhortations of his beloved son, which demonstrated his title to the character of the saviour and redeemer of mankind.

Upon such authorities, then, I will venture to pronounce it to be an immutable,

and eternal truth, that virtue, under every dispensation, hath the promise of our creator's favour.

It hath been usual, indeed, to declaim much upon the effects which the fall of Adam hath had upon the reason of our species. But, if we are to believe that man “ has no power to do good works, pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God, by Christ, preventing us,” * to what purpose have they been required under dispensations so long antecedent to Christ's coming; and why are they still required of those to whom the laws of his gospel have not yet been published? † if “ man be of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit,” ‡ one of the strongest inducements to a course of virtue; an inducement, which arises from the pleasure, the joy, the transport of an approving conscience, is intirely destroyed. For conscience is a word without a meaning, unless we are persuaded, that what is
approved

* Article x.

† Rom. ii. 6—16.

‡ Article ix.

approved by our reason, will be accepted by our God.

The man, therefore, who, in all the relations and circumstances of life, labours to perform a just and honourable part; who is punctual in all his dealings, placable to his adversaries, and beneficent to the extent of his capacity and power; who humbles himself in the sight of his heavenly father; who looks up to him for assistance, in every difficulty and distress; and studies to transfer into his heart the benevolent and operative principles of the gospel, will infallibly be accepted by him, whatever be the number, or the nature of the doctrines, which he professes in his creed. Although differing from all mankind with respect to points called fundamentals in religion; although excluded from the community of every church upon the habitable globe, he will be a church to himself; and, if ever zealous to improve in the practice of each divine and social duty, he will rise to the possession of the most perfect happiness which human nature is capable of receiving, from

the unbounded benignity of the universal parent.

It is the plastic hand of that universal parent which hath worked into our constitution the finest feelings of humanity. Let us obey their influence in every act of life; the errors of our judgment shall pass unnoticed before his high tribunal. Veneration for that mighty being, whose creative word first formed us from the dust of earth, whose providential arm supports our steps, is certainly the first and greatest of all human duties, as it is one of the first emotions which affect the mind of a rational and dependent creature.

The affections of a father, brother, friend, are affections of our common nature. They are not the growth of any particular soil or climate, more kindly than the rest. The God who sowed these seeds of virtue in our breasts, shall, therefore, bless the increase, under whatever profession of faith it may have been matured.

If there be a religion upon earth which God detests, it must be the religion from which we profess to have reformed: because

cause it is a religion founded upon inhumanity, and erected in opposition to the common rights of men.

The religion which God requireth of all, is a religion at once simple, and pure: it speaketh an “ uniform language unto all nations. It is intelligible to every sensible being. It is not furrounded by shadows and mysteries; it is clear, it is engraved on every heart, in indelible characters. Its decrees are secure from the revolutions of empire, the injuries of time, and the caprice of custom. Every virtuous man is its priest; errors and vices are its victims; the universe its altar; and God the only divinity it adores. Morality is the sum and substance of this religion. When we are rational, we are pious; when we are useful, we are virtuous; when we are benevolent, we are righteous and just.”

Learn, therefore, to consider acts of piety, humanity, and justice, as of the highest consequence to thy well-being; they are acts approved both by God and man; they constitute the dignity, the ornament of thy nature; they are the genuine fruits of a lively faith in the promises of the gospel:
but

but, wherever found, their memorial shall never be forgotten.

If a superior knowledge of thy duty ; if a clearer prospect of thy great reward ; if the bright example of thy favour, be in thee productive of a purer life, rejoice in the name of christian ; thou hast reason for thy joy. But, let the words of the apostle also be imprinted on thy mind ; let them animate thee to every useful virtue, at the same time that they confound thy pride : “ God is no respecter of persons ; but, in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.”

Now to the one, almighty, everlasting God, be ascribed all might, power, majesty, and dominion, through Jesus Christ our Lord !

VI.

PREACHED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF
CAMBRIDGE, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 27,
1772.

A C T S XV. 10.

“ NOW, THEREFORE, WHY TEMPT YE
GOD, TO PUT A YOKE UPON THE NECKS
OF THE DISCIPLES, WHICH NEITHER
OUR FATHERS NOR WE WERE ABLE TO
BEAR ? ” *

It hath frequently been observed, with
respect to civil laws, that such as are enacted
in opposition to the prevailing disposition,
sentiments, and manners of a people, in-
stead

[* The editor is aware, that by much the greater part
of the following sermon will be found in the fourth,
eighth, and fourteenth numbers of “ Every man his
own priest,” re-printed in the third volume of the pre-
sent work. But it is conceived, that the argument is
more connected, and, consequently, more forcibly stated
in the sermon, than in the detached papers above re-
ferred

stead of operating according to the design of the legislator, are themselves more likely to give way to the impulse of those passions which they were intended to restrain.

This observation strikes us with double force, when we consider the spirit of those religious institutions, which, established on the ruins of right reason, oppose themselves at the same time to every privilege of nature, and society; and inculcate a practice, repugnant to the best emotions of the human mind.

But those institutions, whether of a civil,
or

ferred to. This circumstance, added to the remembrance of the conversation it occasioned in the university of Cambridge, at the time it was preached, seemed to require its publication in its original form. Notwithstanding which, the editor did not think himself at liberty to cancel those papers, in which so much of it was afterwards given to the public, as such omission would have interfered in the regular series of their publication. And, besides, from this very fact, he is enabled to prove, what from his own observation he knows to be true, that the essays which our author so frequently sent to the public prints of this time, with whatever facility and promptitude they were composed, were in their matter, the result of reflection and study.

Something similar might have been observed of part of the second sermon, but the occasion did not appear to require particular notice.]

or religious nature, which breathe a spirit friendly to the interests of society, to the interest of man; which inculcate principles sweetly responsive to the voice of reason, and harmoniously consenting with the social movements of the soul, we accept with willing hearts, and bow without reluctance to their just and generous sway.

Resistless, therefore, may we reasonably expect, will be the progress of the religion of the gospel in that day, when every impediment shall be removed, which at present obstructs our view, and conceals from our inquiry the proper value of her precepts, and the supreme authority of her commands. More resplendent in her own native purity, than in the false, factitious lustre of human decorations, she then shall widely diffuse her calm and steady light: the shades of ignorance and vice shall be dispelled: and every form and phantom, which superstition and enthusiasm have called up, shall gradually retire from the majesty of her presence, or be at once extinguished in the effulgence of her everlasting glory.

A firm belief in the truths of christianity,

as exhibited in the scriptures, leads, by a natural and easy progress, to just and honourable principles, to a just and honourable practice; and, particularly conduces to the generation and support of that noble independency of spirit, on which each great and truly patriotic virtue rests, liable indeed to be assailed by the winds and waves, but like the house upon a rock, to be assailed in vain.

The restoration, therefore, of the word of God to that supremacy, which it so justly claims above the precarious traditions of fallible men, mediately tends to the production of each public virtue, and the lasting establishment of those constitutional privileges, which, as englishmen, it is our duty to revere.

But, however intimate the connexion may appear, between religious knowledge and the public welfare; it has been frequently insinuated, and sometimes openly asserted, that the abolition of subscription to systematical confessions of faith and doctrine, is a measure, which, were it adopted by the ruling powers, would immediately lead to the annihilation of all religious principle
in

in the people, and probably end in the subversion of the state itself.*

On the contrary, it has been maintained, by authorities no less respectable, † that the substitution of a general subscription to the truth of christianity, as contained in the scriptures, in the place of a subscription to those antiquated formularies, which are now almost universally supposed to hold forth a false representation of the gospel, would, by unfettering the minds of men, lead to a more accurate investigation, and more practical knowledge of the saving words of truth; and thus add to the stability of kingdoms, and the happiness of the individuals who compose them.

A repugnance, so irreconcilable between two conclusions, cannot but be referred to some repugnance, no less irreconcilable, between the premises from which they are deduced; and yet, in a controversy which has so long agitated the passions of men, one might have imagined, that first principles at least, were settled, and the merits of the question

* See "A charge delivered in the year 1772, by Thomas Balguy, D.D."

† See "The confessional," &c,

tion, by this time, left to be decided by sound argument, and liberal discussion. But, unhappily, this is not the fact. We still continue to lay down positions, as prejudice or party dictates; and are too apt to support them by a zeal and perseverance, defensible only in those cases, in which we are conscious of having given to the world, unquestionable proofs of accuracy of investigation, and sobriety of judgment.

Since, however, in consequence of these discussions, the attention of the public is at length called to the question concerning the propriety of requiring subscription to human articles of faith and doctrine in protestant churches;* it will not, I trust, be thought either an unseasonable, or an uninteresting subject for our present inquiry, if, with a view of throwing light upon those principles, on which the merits of this important controversy rest, we endeavour,

In the first place, to explain the intrinsic nature and unalienable privileges of a christian church.

And,

* By the petition to the legislature for the abolition of subscription.

And, then, proceed to the consideration of those rights and privileges of christian people, in the case of churches established by law.

A christian church, in strict propriety of speech, suggests to us no other idea than that of an assembly of persons met together in the name of Christ, with an avowed intent of worshipping the God and father of mankind.* It may easily be collected, from the history of the planting of the gospel, that christian churches, at their first formation, were societies merely voluntary. And it is no less certain, that, whatever deference was then paid to the primary founders of such churches, in matters of discipline and worship, similar societies must now subsist by the aid of laws and regulations, derived from no other authority than the consent of the members who compose them.

As a right is, undoubtedly, vested in the
majority

[* “Unto the church of God which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, with all that in every place, are called by the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours. 1 Cor. i. 2. See Lindsey’s “Two Dissertations,” p. p. 94—97. See also Rom. xvi. 5. and Colos. iv. 15. where single families, assembled for the purpose of religious worship, are considered as churches, &c. &c.]

majority of such society to expel those persons, whose conduct is not regulated by an attention to its laws; so a reciprocal right is evidently reserved, to every single member, to withdraw himself whenever it shall appear expedient; and this without the subtraction or diminution of any privilege, dignity, or emolument, to which he may be entitled as a subject of the civil power.

A society, thus constituted, may decree whatever rites and ceremonies it shall judge conducive to the edification of its members in faith and love; but cannot, consistently with the allegiance every member is under to his spiritual sovereign, submit to the introduction of any human formulary of faith and doctrine whatsoever, as the test of sound and orthodox belief. And this, because, as christians, we acknowledge the rule of faith, and the rule of life to have been fully and circumstantially revealed by our divine instructor; and to be now, with all faithfulness and perspicuity, declared to us in the writings of such of his followers, as were immediately delegated by himself, to convert mankind to an obedience to his laws.

Christian

Christian churches may, unquestionably, be distinguished from each other by varieties in their form of worship, modes of discipline, or internal polity. The church of Corinth may adopt rites and ceremonies, which the church of Ephesus doth not approve. But, a diversity of doctrine, even in matters which have frequently been esteemed fundamental, can never be demonstrated to constitute, either in whole, or in part, a proper ground or reason for this distinction. Every individual in each of these societies, however differing in sentiment from his brethren, with respect to any point of faith expressed in humanly-devised forms of speech, has a right to continue in communion with all the members of his own particular church;* may be equally a member of Christ's catholic church; and, if found obedient to the moral precepts of the gospel, will, hereafter, be equally entitled to his saviour's approbation, and the favourable acceptance of his God.

I 2

The

* As long as he conforms to their rules and ceremonies, he certainly has a right to continue, as well as a liberty of departing. His conscience must determine when the society becomes too corrupt, or contrary to what he thinks the truth,

The members of this society may also set apart whatever portion of their private patrimony they shall think expedient, for the purpose of engaging persons to officiate in its religious worship. And it is obvious, that such service may, at the discretion of the society, be conducted either in the mode of extemporary prayer, or according to a pre-conceived form.

It may also appear expedient, in such a congregation, to allow an additional provision for the appointment of a person, whose office it shall be, to explain the meaning, and to recommend the practice of God's written word, according to the best of his capacity and power.

But, for such a society to require, from its teacher, a subscribed declaration of his belief in any formulary of man's device, would be both impious and unwise. It would be impious, inasmuch as it would be substituting the precarious opinions of fallible men, in the place of that word, which God revealed.* It would be unwise, inasmuch

* It may be said, that the magistrate may plead conscience. It is my purpose only to show, from principles of reason and the authority of scripture that, that conscience

much as it would restrain the powers of the preacher in the execution of his duty ; and deprive him of the opportunity of affording to his constituents that information and instruction, which were the chief reasons of his appointment to his useful and important trust. The christian and protestant engagement in the ordination of priests, may be opposed to the contrary subscription to the thirty-sixth canon ; although both of them are made at the same time, and as a necessary qualification to the same office : in such a case, the minister would sign, with one hand, an obligation to study the revealed written word of God, and to unfold to his congregation every important doctrine, every substantial duty, which, in his own apprehension, it contains ; and, with the other, he would execute a bond, whereby he engages to abide by the interpretation of others ; and

I 3

to

science will be an erroneous one ; and, in fact, to be vindicated only upon the idea, that God will pardon impiety and idolatry, when acts of each proceed from an invincible ignorance. God, who knoweth the heart, knoweth when to pardon, and when to condemn, but it is our duty to explore, and to declare, that which appears to be just and right.

to teach his congregation nothing, but what they understood, or supposed they understood, before they solicited his assistance or advice.

Before I enter upon my second inquiry into the rights and privileges reserved to christian people, in the case of churches established by law, I must observe, that all religious assemblies whatsoever, whether congregated in the name of Moses, the name of Jesus, or the name of Mahomet, have an equal claim to be protected by the state. The right of worshipping our creator, in that form and manner which we ourselves approve, is a right with which we were invested, previously to the formation of the social compact:* upon our entrance into society, we cannot, without impiety, resign it. A stronger bond than that of loyalty to a temporal monarch should restrain us. We already are subjects of another sovereign; and therefore cannot, for a moment, be consenting to an alienation of
our

* "I have long looked on liberty of conscience as one of the rights of human nature antecedent to society."

Burnet in his "Hist. of his own Times,"
vol. ii. 364. fol. edit.

our service, consistently with our allegiance to the king of kings.

I resign, indeed, to the magistrate the power of avenging those temporal wrongs which I suffer from men of like passions with myself: my civil liberty, in fact, depends upon that unreserved submission, which I owe, in common with my fellow subjects, to those equal laws, which, without respect of persons, guard my property, my reputation, and my life. But, when I turn my views to future happiness, I look not to the person of the magistrate for information; he is a weak, frail, ignorant, erring mortal, like myself: I direct my ardent, solemn supplications to the tremendous majesty of heaven, and humbly confide in that word, which the almighty hath been pleased, in mercy, to reveal: I search with my own eyes, and my own understanding, in earnest solicitude, for that truth, in the discovery of which, I am so immediately and so deeply concerned. And, as the power of the greatest monarch upon earth cannot possibly deliver me from the dominion of the grave, I will, in religious

matters, bow to him alone, who is lord of life and death.

But this original and unalienable right of every individual in society to chuse his form of worship, precludes not the public institution of religious establishments: the intrinsic nature, and contingent circumstances of which, I shall now consider.

The formation of a religious establishment in any nation, is subsequent to the formation of the social compact, and owes its existence, solely to an act of the legislative power.

It consists, in the appropriation of a part of the public treasure, to the purpose of defraying the expenses of the public worship.*

The form of prayer, the rights and ordinances which are connected with it, the manner of creating the various orders of ministers who officiate in the service, together with the just extent of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, must also be settled and defined, at the discretion of the state.†

But,

* The minority should not be obliged to pay for doctrines, not useful to the state.

† In order to prevent mistakes, I would be understood to mean, that this ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as settled and defined by the state, should confine itself intirely

But, the form of public worship, established by this authority, ought to rest upon the broadest basis. Infomuch, that should there be a country in which jews, mahometans, and christians are united under the same civil government, without any great inequality of numbers, the form of worship publicly endowed, should, if possible, be framed in such a manner as to comprehend them all;† and, at the same time, the power of revising and correcting such establishment, according to the improving judgment of the

tirely to the regulation of the deportment of the established clergy. The coercive jurisdiction of the magistrate in religious matters, reaches not to the lay-members, even of his own communion; much less to those, who dissent from the established form of public worship. With respect to security from interruption in our religious exercises, all societies have the same claim to protection, with those which are established by law.

† The idea is not so impracticable, as may at first be thought. Jews, christians, mahometans, &c. united under the same government, and the same laws, receive national blessings: why should they not unite in returning national praise, and national thanksgiving? Securing to them, however, the right of separate congregations, if they are desirous of making their acknowledgements for any other than national concerns.

the nation, should not be foreclosed by sanguinary and oppressive laws. A legal and unlimited permission, should be granted to the professors of each particular religion, to worship the almighty in that form and manner, which is more peculiarly pleasing to themselves, reserving for this purpose a proportional part of the public fund appropriated to the religious service of the nation.

In a country, wherein the inhabitants altogether, or, for the most part, profess themselves believers in the gospel, the mode of public worship should have respect to that revelation, which is contained in the gospel; but should not admit, into its established forms, expressions, obviously exclusive of particular sects, professing obedience to the same common master.

The essence of the religious establishment consisting, then, in a prescribed mode of public worship; and, in an appointment out of the public treasure, for the provision of a set of ministers to officiate therein, it appears highly injurious to exclude any person, who publicly dissents from this establishment,
from

from places of secular dignity and trust.* He acquiesces in the tax imposed by the voice of the majority, for the support of the religious service of the nation, and retains, therefore, an unquestionable right, not only of worshipping God agreeably to his own particular persuasion; but, also, of rising to the possession of every temporal advantage, to which his acknowledged merit, or the favour of his fellow citizens, can exalt him.

But, although this establishment is always to be considered, as in strict subordination to the legislative power of the kingdom; yet there are some particular subjects, concerning which, it becomes legislature itself to observe a profound and awful silence.

A

* The oath of allegiance, though taken as an obligation of fidelity to the person of the king, should be considered as the bond which constitutes the citizen: Every man who gives a full consent to be governed by the laws in all temporal matters, has an undoubted right, without any religious test, to all the privileges of a subject. But, as spirituals, in the church of Rome, imply temporals; the papist gives but half a temporal security, when he promises allegiance to another state; and, therefore, the oath of supremacy is ministered in these kingdoms, in order to complete the oath of temporal allegiance. No other should be demanded.

A christian legislature cannot, without impiety, require subscription, in any instance whatsoever, to human formularies of faith and doctrine. It would be impious, as we before observed, even in an independent christian church, to impose such a condition on its teachers ; still more so, in the legislature, to employ its force in giving sanction to such decisions.

A protestant legislature is still more forcibly prohibited the use of such expedients. It is the criterion of protestantism, to disclaim all foreign jurisdiction, in matters of a religious nature ; and all human authority, in controversies of faith. Nor can a legislature, which professes to act upon protestant principles, without the added imputation of notorious inconsistency, require such subscription from those who do, much less from those, who do not, approve the established discipline and worship.

But, subscription to human formularies of faith and doctrine, exclusively of the impiety of such requisition, exclusively of its inconsistency, with the essential rights of protestants, is exceptionable for other reasons,

sons, even in independent assemblies of christian people ; but, still more exceptionable, if such subscription be demanded, either of the laity or the clergy, in a national church.

It is possible, though not probable, that the members of one particular assembly may, for some short space of time, agree in a form of doctrine, which accurately exhibits a real confession of their faith. But, in the case of a national church, wherein the number of persons, differing from each other in the circumstances of natural and acquired abilities, is proportionably augmented, it is morally impossible, that an explanatory confession of faith can be drawn up in terms so simple, as accurately to express the sentiments of all its members. And yet, where this is not effected, the establishment of a formulary fails of its avowed design.*

When

[* The intention of the thirty-nine articles, “to avoid diversity of opinion, and to establish consent touching true religion,” is too plainly declared in the very title, and too positively recognised in the act of uniformity,

When metaphysical refinements, when scholastic differences and distinctions, enter into the contexture of such confessions; to
 contend

uniformity, to allow any force to the popular plea of latitude of interpretation.

The inference which is drawn, in his majesty's declaration, from the "most willing subscription of all the clergy in the realm," is natural and fair; and, in the apprehension of common sense, will always be understood as an argument, that they all agree in the true, usual, and literal meaning of the said articles, and look upon themselves as bound, neither "to print or preach, or to draw the articles aside any way; but to submit to them in the plain and full meaning thereof, in the literal and grammatical sense."

It is in vain to urge, as Mr. archdeacon Paley has done, the unreasonableness of supposing "the legislature expected the consent of ten thousand men, and that in perpetual succession, not to one controverted proposition, but to many hundreds." (See his *Principles of moral and political philosophy*. b. iii. p. 1. §. 22.) The preceding declarations are proofs that it did; and the charge of unreasonableness only recoils on those, who still suffer such a test to remain; or, who fancy that they can submit to it, without incurring the suspicions of their good faith in this point, which the author laments should so generally prevail.

But Mr. Paley's casuistry, in his chapter on "subscription to articles of religion," is best answered by his own reasoning in that "of religious establishments,
 and

contend for the imposition of them, “ for the purpose of avoiding of diversities of opinion, and of establishing consent touching true

and of toleration.” In the former, he seems to betray the yoke of bondage, in the display of a very feeble apology; in the latter, he resumes somewhat more of his christian liberty, and recollects the principles of his protestant faith.—“ Although,” says he, “ some purposes of order and tranquility may be answered by the establishment of creeds and confessions; yet they are at all times attended with serious inconveniences. They check inquiry; they violate liberty; they ensnare the consciences of the clergy by holding out temptations to prevarication: however, they may express the persuasion, or be accommodated to the controversies or to the fears of the age, in which they are composed, in process of time, and by reason of the changes which are wont to take place in the judgment of mankind upon religious subjects, they come at length to contradict the actual opinions of the church, whose doctrines they profess to contain; and they often perpetuate the proscription of sects and tenets, from which any danger has long ceased to be apprehended.”

With these objections, it is in vain to plead the morality or utility of continuing such subscriptions to human explications of the scriptures. Among other serious inconveniences here recited, we have heard of the lamentations of some, who, while they continued members of the established church, and apologized for her impositions, have been wont, very feelingly and ingenuously, to declare, they “ could not afford to keep a conscience.”]

true religion, would be to insult the common sense and reason of mankind.

If subscription to such a formulary be required of the clergy, is there not too much reason to apprehend, that falsehood or prevarication, avowed or secret infidelity, may be imputed to that order; and, the melancholy effects soon become too visible in the increasing dissipation, and profligacy of manners, in all ranks of people? *

If there be yet a situation, in which these requisitions are still more peculiarly unjustifiable than in any other, it is in those places which are set apart for the purposes of sound learning, ingenuous manners, and religious education. †

Indeed, it appears scarcely possible to conceive, that the imposition of academical subscription can be defended, for a moment, upon any principles of reason or utility. It evidently tends to taint the native honour of ingenuous youth; to render the mind familiar

* See Hartley's "Observations on man," vol. ii. p. 351—358.

[† Concerning academical subscription; see the four letters of "Paulinus," addressed to the gentlemen of the university of Cambridge, vol. i. p. 182—216. and No. xii. of "Every man his own priest." vol. iii. p. 221—232.]

liar to the practice of unconvinced assent; and subjects these seats of elegant and useful literature to the charge of maintaining illiberal and exclusive principles, unknown even in states wherein religious despotism, and the intolerant spirit most prevail. The continuation of this imposition, upon persons who receive no emoluments whatever from the establishment; and, who, for a long course of years, have approved themselves the best of subjects, must be considered, (after a respectful application has been made for its removal,) as proceeding from a desire of exercising an unjustifiable dominion over the consciences of christians; and, eventually, may be productive of danger to the constitution, both in church and state.*

Hear then the conclusion of the whole
matter

[* The author laboured to promote a further application of the protestant dissenters for an enlargement of their religious liberty; not only in regard to the removal of all subscription to articles of faith, but to the repeal of the test act, and all penal laws in religious matters. He also justly considered them entitled to the use of a marriage ceremony, agreeably to their own principles.]

matter. Public virtue, public honour, and a vital religion founded upon the scriptures and embraced with fervour, unquestionably tend, as I before observed, to promote the public welfare; and form a permanent foundation for the real glory of a state.

A measure, therefore, which removes obstructions to the universal prevalence of the pure and unadulterated faith of Christ, and to the practice of every gospel-virtue, instead of being represented as destructive of the establishment, and as necessarily leading to the subversion of the state, ought in right reason to be promoted by every friend to his religion and his country, as likely to be productive of the most salutary consequences to public utility, and to public peace.

As a mode of producing the most beneficial effects, both to individuals and the community at large, the advantage of a national establishment (meaning thereby a decent provision for a national clergy, bound by the most solemn engagements to execute the important trust reposed in them by the people) is most strenuously maintained and insisted upon; a trust, which, by its very nature,
calls

calls upon that clergy to preach the pure, unmixed, uncorrupted word of God, as well as to adorn the profession, by a visible display of every divine and social virtue,—“ a trust, therefore, which cannot but be materially impaired by the obligation to subscribe their unfeigned assent to a series of articles, the doctrines of which, (from the popular modes of vindicating subscription) they are supposed almost generally to disclaim.”

When the magistrate has consented to the establishment of a legal provision for an order of men, appointed to minister in the congregation of christians, according to a stated form of prayer ; and to preach the gospel to the people, he has done his part : more he should not presume to do.

And it is thy duty, O man, whatever be thy station, if with a safe conscience thou canst be present at the ceremonial in which they minister, to attend to their instructive voice : yet, at the same time, with a full assurance that then only thou canst enjoy the expected fruits of thy attendance, when thy conduct is swayed by principles, which thy

own, and not another's judgment shall approve.

If thou acknowledgest the gospel to be the word of that God, who is the creator of the world, and the lord of all that it inhabit, whatever be thy sentiments with respect to the nature of the person he hath sent, thy faith is sound; thy acceptance rests upon thy unreserved obedience to this word.

If, moreover, thou livest in a country where the established ministers of religion are bound by the nature of their office, and encouraged by the laws to declare that word in its primæval purity, to the best of their capacity and power; thou hast reason to rejoice in the circumstances of thy lot.

But, let not any one of my hearers indulge the fond delusion, that he now enjoys this privilege, in consequence of his communion with the church of England. For, by the laws requiring subscription to human formularies of faith and doctrine, each aspirant to the ministry, each expectant of preferment; however fervent may be his affection to the religion of the gospel; however firm his convictions of its truth; however loyal

to his king ; however sincere in his attachment to the constitution of his country, is reduced to the alternative, of foregoing those emoluments, to which his education, or his labours in the course of his profession, may entitle him ; or, of acceding to an obligation, whereby he resigns the exercise of his understanding and the deductions of his better judgment, to an authority, not less despotic, than the antichristian power of Rome. Under these circumstances, he, at the same time, defrauds his congregation of their reasonable claim to his instructions in the word of life ; and subjects himself, too frequently, to the suspicion of solemnly prevaricating with his conscience, and of deliberately lying to his God.

Now unto the king eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honour and glory for ever and ever ! Amen.

THEOLOGICAL PROPOSITIONS,
AND
MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS.
WITH
GENERAL MAXIMS
OF
REASON AND RELIGION.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM THE
ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

THEOLOGICAL PROPOSITIONS,

A N D

MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS.

I.

Two important questions in which every individual is interested. 1st. Is there a future state of pain and pleasure? 2d. What expectations may I indulge of being happy in such a state? A religion, which settles both these points, must be from God. Christ's does so, and is supported by proper evidence, therefore, Christ's religion is divine.

2.

Reason is analogous to the naked eye; revelation to the sight, assisted by the telescope. The assistance of the instrument is equivalent to an increase of sagacity, or addition to the natural powers of man: as the telescope improves the human sight, so reason

son is assisted by revelation. Each are equally true, and represent their object in a manner equally distinct.

3.

The rewards of futurity will be enjoyed in proportion to our compliance with the law of God, as declared in Micah vi. 8. “ And now what doth the Lord require of thee, O man, but to do justice, love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God.”

4.

Jesus sits at the right hand of God, by a similar metaphor, as all the enemies of God are to be made his footstool: i. e. both equally figurative expressions. Stephen's vision was a symbol of Jesus's power or messiahship, and so his enemies understood him.

Consider the promise of the thrones to the apostles. In the same sense to them as to Jesus.

5.

Suicide is not a crime, which should be deemed cognizable by the civil magistrate; but it is a sinful and vicious action: because
it

it implies a want of trust in the goodness of providence, and indicates the greatest degree of self-regard: hence frequent in lunacy, where self-regards seem to annihilate all secondary affections, such as modesty, piety, benevolence.

6.

If the production of happiness be pleasing to the almighty, agriculture must be pleasing, as from thence the means of living are supplied, not to man only, but to innumerable kinds of other animals, who reside near the habitations of men.

Two ways of co-operating with the deity; one, in giving happiness to those already in existence: the other, in contriving to give being to numerous tribes of rational and irrational animals, and to make them happy.

7.

A man should be intrepid in his religious opinions. Fear withdraws the succours of reason. Religious awe weakens the power of the mind. Hence, all the errors from this source. Fear guilt; fear to displease the almighty: but be intrepid and bold in every other matter relating to religion.

8. " Qu'il

8.

“ Qu’il ne faut point séparer les loix, de circonstances dans lesquelles elles ont été faites.”* An excellent rule for the interpretation of scripture, particularly in the epistles.

9.

“ Transporter dans des siècles reculés toutes les idées du siècle où l’on vit, c’est des sources de l’erreur celle qui est la plus féconde.”† Investigate the reigning ideas and controversies of the apostles times, and by them interpret their words. As in 1 Cor. xv. 3.

10.

Be the friend of liberty and truth, but in my religious researches avoid the “ l’esprit desapprobateur” mentioned in Montesquieu’s preface. ‡

11. Virtue,

* Montesq. Esprit des loix, xxix. 14.

† Ib. xxx. 14.

[‡ The author here alludes to the beginning of Montesquieu’s preface to his “ Esprit des loix.” “ Si dans le nombre infini des choses qui sont dans ce livre, il y en avoit quelqu’une qui, contre mon attente, pût offenser, il n’y

II.

Virtue, the principle of republics. Fear of God, that of a theocracy. The troglodytes did not seek a king 'till the public virtue began to grow feeble.* And the Israelites did not seek a king, till they were corrupted. No objection, therefore, can be made to the israelitish policy.

12.

We only perceive the next immediate agent; God works by second causes. So does man. The inferior animals often feel the second causes, and cannot ascend to man, i. e. an intelligent being; so men with difficulty ascend to God.

13.

When the apostle said, "with us there is
one

n'y en a pas du moins qui y ait été mise avec mauvaise intention. Je n'ai point naturellement l'esprit disapprobateur. Platon remercioit le ciel de ce qu'il étoit né du temps de Socrate; & moi, je lui rends grâces de ce qu'il m'a fait naître dans le gouvernement où je vis, & de ce qu'il a voulu que j'obéisse à ceux qu'il m'a fait aimer."]

* Montesq. Lettres pers. xi. & xiv.

one God, one Lord," he referred to the times of the jewish kings. With the israelites in David's and Solomon's time, there was one God, and one Lord : i. e. one God, and one king, the lord of his inheritance, who was the first born, or son of God. Christ was Lord, i. e. king. If God was the governor of the jews, then the son of God was king.

14.

Christianity more properly an attempt at a reformation, than a system of morality.

15.

The first fundamental speculative principle to be deduced from the study of the gospel, is, that Jesus was the messiah promised of God, and proved so from the support of the God of nature.

The second, that charity is the distinguishing mark of the disciple of Jesus. Christianity, therefore, teaches us, that there is one God to be worshipped, with all the affections of the soul ; and that we are to love our neighbour as ourselves.

16. Shun

* Shun physical, shun metaphysical disquisitions; such as treatises of the pre-existence of Jesus, of the instrumentality of the spiritual gifts. Reject the discourses of the earliest fathers, when they discuss these points. The apostles themselves would have no authority in these matters. The scriptures, under which head I rank all the writers of the apostolic age, have not, or should not have any such disquisitions. They are not in them. They cannot be deduced from them. Her-
 mas called scripture by Irenaeus and Clem.
 Alex.

The gospels give us the history of the messiah's coming. His office appears in the prophets; to call men to virtue, to incorporate them, and to propose the future reward.

Mem. to pursue the thought of evil.
 Moral evils being necessary to produce those affections from whence man's happiness must
 spring:

[* The propositions are to be considered as addressed to his pupils.]

spring: agreeably to my sermon on "her ways are ways of pleasantness," and agreeably to 1 Cor. xi. 19.

19.

Jesus limits our forgiveness to seventy times seven, meaning the usual phrase for an indefinite number. So he uses the word *αιωνιος* for an indefinite number, the jews dealing in hyperbole.

20.

I am satisfied, that the evangelists sometimes describe the course, or event of a conversation, in general terms; and frequently put their own words into the mouths of the speakers, to render it consistent.

21.

The scripture-language and meaning confirms Hartley's doctrine of free-will.

22.

It is very probable that many passages of the new Testament may be illustrated from the Koran.

23. ——— says,

23.

——— says, that mysteries declared necessary to salvation, are like Caligula's laws, hung on high.

24.

The origin of sin given ad hominem, as the origin of the world: but labour was necessary from the beginning, *acuens mortalia corda*.

25.

Intolerants, and persons who maintain eternal punishment and atonement, are more unfit for society than atheists. This the judgment of some.

26.

The pleasure and love of the human mind, generated in granting favours, is greater than the love generated by receiving them, in order that men may be incited to the first glory of their nature, the practice of benevolence.

27:

The functions of particular parts of our corporeal frame we call "the anima." The functions of other parts, or other functions

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of

of the same, is "the animus." Lucretius supposes them to be separate substances. I suppose them to be functions of our corporeal frame, and, therefore, dissoluto corpore, and, sometimes before the whole machine be disordered, utterly to perish: as the sound to cease, when the wire is broken. Let the muscles, bones, cartilages, blood, lymph, intestines, flesh, be called the body; and the nervous system, pervading all, be called the anima; and Lucretius is often right. See the just opinion of Democritus, which Lucretius endeavours to confute, (iii. 372.) Lucretius supposes the motion of the fluid to be from itself: we, by impulse, and communicated vibrations from without.

28.

The natural liberty of man consists in having a will to act,* and an exemption from all restraints, arising from defects in the instrument of action, such as in hands, feet, from palsies, &c. as well as from the restraints arising from natural external circumstances.

Political liberty, when there are no restraints from men.

Moral

* See the definition of "will" in Hartley, vol. i. p. 3, and 371.

Moral liberty, when I have the will to act, and am not restrained by the prevalence of bad habits, which prevent that state of mind from being followed by actions or muscular motions. In this sense, every vicious man is really, and without a figure, a slave.*

29.

A doubt arises, whether St. Paul did not adopt the jewish mode of interpreting scripture, and argue inconclusively.†

30.

Our saviour hath said; blessed are little children, for of such is the kingdom, i. e. such are most likely to receive the gospel, and to own its truth. If so, to be meek, peaceable, humble, innocent in word and action, are better preparatives than much reading. Shun contests, be forgiving, and thou wilt soon be a christian.

31.

“ Man is the person through whom his creator was pleased to appear in the visible

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government

* See Turnbull, vol. i. 3. §. 4.

† See “ Theological repository.” vol. iii. p. 86—105.

government of the world." * This the best explanation of Philip. ii. 7. and Heb. i. 1. I have ever seen. God was thus in Jesus.

32.

In Whitby, on Gal. v. 19, is a very good delineation of real heresy. †

33.

In sea and land engagements, it is necessary to send persons upon services, in which it is most likely the persons employed must fall. These are necessary sacrifices for the
good

* See "Atticus" in the London Chronicle of Dec. 14, 1771.

[† "Heresy, according to the scripture notion, being not a pure mistake of judgment; but an espousing a false doctrine out of disgust, pride, or envy, or from worldly principles, or to avoid persecution, or trouble in the flesh, may well be ranked among carnal lusts. Hence, are such men said, "not to serve Jesus Christ, but their own belly;" (Rom. xv. 16, 17.) "to teach what they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake;" (Tit. i. 11.) "to account gain for godliness;" (1 Tim. vi. 5.) and "through covetousness, with feigned words, to make merchandize of others;" (2 Pet. ii. 3.) And, therefore, the apostle doth not advise us to convince; but only to admonish, and reject the heretic, as knowing that he sins, being convinced of his own conscience. See his note on Titus iii. 10.]

good of the whole. Jesus's such a station, and the reasons were not mysterious, but have an easy explication from the history of what he attempted, and the circumstances of the times. This well compared to a sacrifice : but how different from the orthodox notions of the vicarious sufferings of Christ. Pursue this idea. 5 Sept. 1771.

34.

“ When cardinal Pole was consulted by what method the hidden and obscure passages of St. Paul's epistles might be unfolded and brought to light, he used to make the following answer : “ that the most ready and expeditious way he could propose, was for the reader to begin at the latter end of the epistles, where the apostle treats of morality, and to practise what was delivered there ; and then to go back to the beginning, where the doctrinal parts are reasoned on with great acuteness and subtilty :” this speech, continues Seripandi, was truly becoming so great a man, whose probity, religion, and sanctity of manners, were no less admirable than his erudition. His discernment in divine matters gave

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him

him to understand, that pure and upright minds attain, with ease, the knowledge of the most sublime and abstracted truths; whereas those who neglect the practical and more intelligible parts of holy writ, as profane persons, were forbid access to the sanctuary.*

35.

I agree with — that Jesus was never seen personally, by any mortal, after his ascension into heaven. — doubts whether the power given to our saviour, in heaven and earth, does not mean that he had power to give the gospel to jews and gentiles. But query. 19 Mar. —72.

36.

John i. 12. *θεος τεκνα*. I am satisfied that i John iii. 1. 2, is the parallel place; and as *θεος* lurks under *φως* here, and yet *θεος τεκνα* follows: so in i John iii. 2, *τεκνα θεος* follows *πατερα*. This throws much light, and deserves serious attention. 20 Mar. —72.

37.

The sum total of the gospel, which our
saviour

* See Philips's Life of Polc, 2 edit. vol. ii. p. 288.

saviour himself preached in his life-time, and commissioned his apostles to preach, after his resurrection, is this, that those who believe in him, shall, upon repentance, have such a full pardon of sin as to be delivered from death. And that Christ, who hath promised this, hath given us an earnest of it, by rising himself from the dead.*

38.

Jesus no more the mediator or intercessor than sacrificer. They talked of sacrifices; Jesus was a better sacrifice. They talked of a mediator, Jesus was a better mediator and intercessor.

True religion, says Dr. Wither Spoon, is nothing else but an inward temper and outward conduct, suited to our state and circumstances in providence at any time.

39.

Price, on the question, shall we know each other hereafter? or on the junction of virtuous men in the heavenly state, appears to me to have proved his point; and I do not know any consideration half so ani-

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mating.

* See " Socinian tracts." p. 73.

ming.* It gives us an hold of futurity; makes it desirable, by giving us an object of desire: in which, it makes futurity a continuation of existence with our present associations of the social kind. This deserves much and frequent consideration; it is sufficient to convert a person. The human heart is animated by the idea; a comfortable idea. Luther held it. See his words, in Sleidan, when he died.

40.

Future punishments, as considered by our divines, are a kind of transportation, where the sufferings are horrible, but afford no useful documents.

Better to consider the future state, not as a state of reward and punishment, properly so called; but as states which will be happy or miserable by natural consequence, as we behave here. This life is not wanting in rewards and punishments. Punishment is the annexing of something over and above the natural consequence of an action. But this addition, let divines say what they please, obtains not in the future state.

Beaufobre

* See Price's "Four dissertations." Diss. iii.

41.

Beaufobre says the oriental christians believed that Jesus became the son of God by baptism. Let me examine into the testimony of the ancients impartially.

42.

That Jesus as a good being, and the friend of man, now prays for the happiness of the human race, is very credible. Such an intercessor I reject not. But what does he pray for? The same that he struggled for on earth, that God's kingdom may come; i. e. that moral virtue may more and more display itself. For individuals he prays not, because beyond the opportunities of knowing them. In short, I admit his intercession in heaven, as I allow the intercession of very good men on earth. But as an appointed intercessor, or actual mediator, at this day, I see no reason to suppose it.

43.

The quotations of the old Testament, like parables, brought in to prove only one point. The other circumstances prove nothing. Ergo generally allusions.

44. The

The origin and vindication, as appears to me, of the double sense of prophecies.

God, when he spoke, had only one sense; and David, when he spake with no more than poetical inspiration, in Psalm ii. and xviii. had but one sense, viz. his own elevation. But when God represented the messiah under temporal terms, and called him David, (Jer. xxx. 9. Hosea iii. 5.) then God gave them a warrant to interpret things spoken of David, as spoken of the messiah. Yet this is to be done with caution. For David is here God's son; afterwards, Solomon. Which shews us that the messiah was not originally meant in either place, but incongruous figures, as Jesus called the vine, and the way. Inquire into this. 9th July, 1772.

To make use of the apocryphal writings of Barnabas, &c. to interpret difficult passages.*

* See Lardner's "Credibility." part. ii. vol. i. and seq.

46.

The grand question is ; Are facts which happened 1700 years ago to direct moral conduct ? Answer. Yes ; principles founded on them may. As is apparent from whole nations acting upon charters, and colonies upon the faith of former migrations.

47.

—— thinks that the gospels and Jesus's preaching were to shew one point, viz. that he was the messiah, or that " I am he," as he expresses it ; the resurrection or future state taken for granted. But that, in the Acts, the scheme opens much, when the gospel was preached to the pagans. —— has doubts about the invocation of Christ. Puzzled with Acts ix. 14.

48.

The matter of miracles being proved by doctrines, may easily be settled by dividing the question. If we live when miracles are said to be done, we inquire, as Farmer says, only into the fact. But, if we live in times
after

after the miracle, then, as Jortin says, we must prove the miracle by the doctrine. We reject the pagan miracles as wrought for no purpose, or to establish error.

49.

Dragonetti, in his treatise upon virtues and rewards, has the following division of the virtues. First, praise to those who produce the supports of life; the second, to remove evils; the third, conveniences with the queen of genuine pleasures; the fourth, to relieve satiety by opening the treasures of fancy. This most admirable, Agriculture the first.

50.

Miracles performed by a person, are not a proof of his perpetual inspiration. In the same manner, miracles were not wrought in proof of Matthew's gospel, but in proof of the christian religion.*

51.

Men in England allow the use of one metal
in

* See Farmer's "Dissertation on miracles;" ch. v.

in planting religion in the human breast, viz. the use of gold : and why not then the use of steel ?

52.

Among the injunctions given by the visitors of the monasteries in 1535 was the following : “ The abbot or head was every day to explain some part of the rule [of his house,] and apply it according to Christ’s law ; and to shew them, that their ceremonies were but elements, introductory to true christianity ; and that religion consisted not in habits, or such like rites, but in cleanness of heart, pureness of living, unfeigned faith, brotherly charity, and and true honouring of God in spirit and in truth : that, therefore, they must not rest in their ceremonies, but ascend by them to true religion.” *

53.

The first aim to produce as much rational animal life upon a given district and division of the earth as possible, with the most happiness and least pain. All duties besides, only modes and means and steps to this end.

54. “ Enfin

* See Burnet’s “ Hist. of reformation.” 4th edit. vol. i. p. 178.

54.

“ Enfin l'assemblée (i. e. the senate of Zurich) se separa, et cependant le sénat ordon que l'on prêcheroit l'évangile selon la doctrine de l'ancien et du nouveau Testament, et non selon les décrets et les constitutions humaines.” *

55.

Que l'écriture sainte étoit tres facile et tres claire, et que pour l'entendre, il ne faloit ni glose ni commentaire, mais simplement avoir l'esprit d'ouïaille de Jesus Christ, or the spirit of the *υπηριος*. Admirable sentiment of Luther.†

56.

Every thing depends upon the husbandman. The earth, the common mother of us all ; she produces, she supports us ; and therefore kings, bishops, lawyers, physicians, soldiers, sailors, &c. &c. &c. to be kept within

* Courayer. Conc. Trent. v. ii. 33.

† See Fra. Paolo Conc. Trent. vol. 1. p. 236.

within reasonable bounds, otherwise they may depopulate the world.

57.

To be a platonist is to assent to Plato's doctrine. To be a christian is to own Christ's authority.

58.

Differences of style, should be as the differences of dress in a prudent mistress of a family. One dress, when in domestic duties; another, when she receives visitors; a third, when she visits.

59.

“ The most effectual way to overthrow error is to establish truth.” An useful hint, and falls in with my idea of divinity lectures.

60.

In the following words of lord Lyttelton, speaking of William Rufus, is depicted the present state of the english laity; “ his mind was too penetrating, not to see the depravity
of

of what was then called religion, and his heart was too corrupt to seek for a better.”*

61.

What Beccaria says of the division of crimes, may be illustrated thus. A party are in a ship, a crime of lese majesty is an attempt to burn or sink the ship. This the great evil, and, most strongly, rouses all. The second, is an attempt to destroy the pilot, i. e. the king. This great, but not so bad as the first. The third, is to attempt to throw a fellow-passenger overboard. This terrifies all, but not so much as the first or second. The fourth, making their provisions less pleasing to the palate, or some such smaller injury. This still lighter. This explains the matter intirely to my idea.†

62.

To a person who believes a God, an hereafter approves itself credible. Such a being as man, may say, “ thou can’st raise me, O my creator; and as thou hast given me a
mind

* See “ Hist. of Henry ii.” 3. edit. 8vo. vol. i. p. 131.

† See Beccaria, “ Dei delitti e delle pene,” the sect. entitled, Divisione Dei delitti.

mind capable of knowing thee, I trust that if I imitate thy goodness, thou wilt raise me." This hope confirmed in the gospel.

63.

It is a pleasing reflection to think that, by exercise and reading, the human mind improves. Yet, if it fades, if it languishes and dies for ever, what comfort in the improvement of our faculties, or by acting in support of religious liberty, and taking pains in the scriptures. But if we live again, then every improvement will remain, and it is worth while to increase in knowledge, and to improve in the moral and theopathic affections of the soul.

64.

The happiness of creatures who rise again, must be greater than that of creatures who have not undergone trouble. God wills the greatest happiness; ergo, there is reason to hope a resurrection.

65.

“ Mais quelle est la direction ou tendance générale et commune que nous voyons dans

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tous

tous les êtres ? Quel est le but visible et connu de tous leurs mouvemens ? C'est de conserver leur existence actuelle, c'est d'y perseverer, c'est de la fortifier, c'est d'attirer ce que lui est favorable, c'est de repousser ce qui peut lui nuire, c'est de resister aux impulsions contraires à sa façon d'être, et à sa tendance naturelle."*

66.

If the projectile motion shews a forming God, the centripetal force acting incessantly shews a preserving God.

67.

“ La morale est la science des rapports qui sont entre les esprits, les volontés et les actions des hommes, que la géométrie est la science des rapports qui sont entre les corps. La morale seroit une chimere, et n'auroit point de principes sûrs, si elle ne se fondeoit sur

* Mirabaud. vol. i. 53.

[The book here cited by the name of Mirabaud, is the celebrated “ Systeme de la nature,” which, however, is now known to have been written, not by Mirabaud, but by a society of the most eminent french unbelievers.]

sur la connoissance des motifs qui doivent nécessairement influencer sur les volontés humaines et déterminer leurs actions." *

68.

“ Un bon livre en touchant le cœur d'un grand prince, peut devenir une cause puissante qui influera nécessairement sur la conduite de tout un peuple, et sur la félicité d'une portion du genre humain.” †

69.

To have revealed a future state too soon, would have put men under the power of priests too soon; but the almighty kept back that knowledge 'till men had improved their laws, &c. so as to be able the better to bear it.

70.

“ Société, pour être avantageuse, devrait être un système de volontés, dans lequel celles que agissent d'une façon conforme aux

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intérêts

* Mirabaud i. 218.

† Ibid. i. 236.

intérêts du tout, éprouveroient infailliblement une réaction avantageuse.”*

71.

“ Souvenons nous toujours que notre bonheur solide doit se fonder sur l’estime de nous-mêmes, et sur les avantages que nous procurons à d’autres ; et que de tous les projets le plus impraticable pour un être qui vit en société, est celui de vouloir se rendre exclusivement heureux.”†

72.

It is objected by philosophers, that religion applies a motive too weak to turn the mind from vice in the moment of temptation. Were we to allow this in each particular instance, yet if we consider the force of virtuous habits, which religion alone can form, we must allow her force to be great in forming the moral principle, which enables us to rise superior to every vicious appetite. This deserves further reflection.

73.

Prayer, philosophically considered, may, by altering the affections of my mind, put
me

* Mirabaud i. 348.

† Ibid. i. 361.

me into that state, according to which, the course of divine providence renders me capable of blessings : popularly considered, i. e. in the effect, and as a secondary affection, it is to be supposed as working an alteration in the mind of God, our creator, governor, and judge. This seems to be the case. July 1773, but it cannot be worthily performed, unless the latter idea prevails at the time.

74.

“ Il est evident que toute revelation qui n'est pas claire, ou qui enseigne des mystères, ne peut etre l'ouvrage d'un être intelligent et sage : dès qu'il parle on doit presumer que c'est pour etre entendu de ceux à qui il veut se manifester. Parler pour n'être point entendu, n'annonce que de la folie, ou de mauvaise foi. Il est donc tres démontré, que tout ce que les prêtres ont appelé des mystères, sont des inventions, faites pour jeter une voile epaisse sur leurs propres contradictions, et leur propre ignorance sur la divinité. Ils tranchèrent toutes les difficultés, en disant, c'est un mystère. D'ailleurs leur intérêt voulut que les hommes n'entendissent

rien à la science prétendue dont ils s'étoient faits les depositaires." *

75.

How it may be with the minds of others, I cannot possibly say. Mine cannot easily contemplate probability in a large number of independent arguments, and form a judgment from the whole. I am too much affected by each subject in its turn, which gets the intire possession of my mind, and leads me into scepticism. The best way, therefore, to have conviction on important points, and to guard against error, seems to be, to practise those moralities which are founded upon fact; to cultivate the secondary affections; to engage in works which tend to increase human happiness; to aim at resignation, a duty at all events; to read history; and to let opinions rise unbidden to my mind, without those laborious exercises of the brain, of which the produce is aridity and scepticism.

I have no occasion to be alarmed with this incapacity of drawing inferences, after painful reflection, upon important subjects. It

is

* Mirabaud ii. 89.

is the case in every other matter, where previous doubts are wont to arise. Attend to the duties of life, respecting of parents, loving friends ; and seek the situation which is most agreeable to nature, (a country life, if not with children, yet with pupils,) and the convictions which nature warrants, will then arise in their proper course. 12 July, 1773.

When vice sometimes, in the moment of temptations, appears the greater good, can I wonder that, in the moment of despondency, the worse should appear the better reason? Take the season of temperance, benevolence, and health, and the secondary affections will then point at truth ; and nature, rightly conceived of, will lead to nature's God.

76.

“ Bien des gens ont regardé Jesus comme un vrai Theiste, dont la religion a été peu à peu corrompue.” *

77.

“ L'on ne doit donc pas craindre de repandre les idées parmi les hommes. Sont elles utiles elles fructifient peu à peu. Tout homme

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qui

* Mirabaud ii. 236.

qui écrit ne doit point fixer ses yeux sur le tems ou il vit, ni sur ces concitoyens actuels, ni sur la contrée qu'il habite. Il doit parler au genre humain, il doit prévoir les races futures.*

78.

In the following words of Mirabaud is expressed, my idea of the religion of nature, so far as relates to our duty to our neighbour. He conceives this to be the voice of nature. I only differ from him in thinking it the voice of God. He is right in thus founding morality on fact. And the fact of Jesus's resurrection gives to religion its perfection, and confirms piety a moral duty.

“ Suis donc, o homme ! dans quelque rang que tu te trouves, le plan qui t'est tracé, pour obtenir le bonheur auquel tu peux prétendre. Que l'humanité sensible t'intéresse au sort de l'homme ton semblable ; que ton cœur t'attendrisse sur les infortunes des autres ; que ta main généreuse s'ouvre pour secourir le malheureux que son destin accable. Songe qu'il peut un jour t'accabler ainsi que lui. Reconnois donc que tout infortuné a droit à tes bienfaits. Effuie surtout les
pleurs

* Mirabaud, ii. 422.

pleurs de l'innocence opprimée ; que les larmes de la vertu dans la détresse soient recueillies dans ton sein ; que la douce chaleur de l'amitié sincère échauffe ton cœur honnête ; que l'estime d'une compagne chérie te fasse oublier les peines de la vie ; sois fidèle à sa tendresse, qu'elle soit fidelle à la tienne ; que sous les yeux de parens unis et vertueux tes enfans apprennent la vertu ; qu'après avoir occupé ton âge mûr, ils rendent à ta vieillesse les soins que tu auras donnés à leur enfance imbécille.

“ Sois juste, parceque l'équité est la soutien du genre humain. Sois bon, parceque la bonté enchaîne tous les cœurs. Sois indulgent, parceque foible toi-même, tu vis avec des êtres aussi foibles que toi. Sois doux, parceque la douceur attire l'affection. Sois reconnoissant, parceque la reconnoissance alimente et nourrit la bonté. Sois modeste, parceque l'orgueil revolte les êtres epris d'eux-mêmes. Pardonne les injures, parceque la vengeance eternise les haines. Fais du bien à celui qui t'outrage, afin de te montrer plus grand que lui, et de t'en faire un ami. Sois retenu, tempéré, chaste, parceque

que la volupté, l'intemperance, et les excès détruiront ton être, et te rendront méprisable.

“ Sois citoyen, parceque ta patrie est nécessaire à ta sûreté, à tes plaisirs, à ton bien-être. Sois fidele et soumis à l'autorité légitime, parce qu'elle est nécessaire au maintien de la société, qui t'est nécessaire à toi-même. Obeïs aux loix, parce qu'elles sont l'expression de volonté publique, à laquelle ta volonté particulière doit être subordonnée. Défends ton pays, parce que c'est lui qui te rend heureux, et qui renferme les biens, ainsi que tous les êtres les plus chers à ton cœur. Ne souffre point que cette mere commune de toi et de tes concitoyens tombe dans les fers de la tyrannie, parceque pour lors elle ne seroit plus qu'une prison pour toi. Si ton injuste patrie te refuse le bonheur ; si soumise au pouvoir injuste, elle souffre qu'on t'opprime, éloigne toi d'elle en silence ; ne la trouble jamais.

“ En un mot sois homme ; sois un être sensible et raisonnable ; sois époux fidele, père tendre, maître équitable, citoyen zélé ; travaille

vaille à servir ton pays par tes forces, tes talents, ton industrie, tes vertus. Fais part à tes associés des dons que la nature t'a fait ; repand le bien-être, le contentement et la joie sur tous ceux qui t'approchent : que la sphère de tes actions, rendue vivante par tes bienfaits réagisse sur toi-même ; sois sur que l'homme qui fait des heureux ne peut être lui-même mal-heureux. En te conduisant ainsi, quelque soient l'injustice, et l'aveuglement des êtres avec qui ton sort te fait vivre, tu ne seras jamais totalement privé des récompenses qui te seront dues ; nulle force sur la terre ne pourra du moins te ravir le contentement intérieur, cette source la plus pure de toute la félicité ; tu rentreras à chaque instant avec plaisir en toi-même ; tu ne trouveras au fond de ton cœur ni honte, ni terreur, ni remords ; tu t'aimeras ; tu seras grand à tes yeux ; tu seras cheri, tu seras estimé de toutes les âmes honnêtes, dont le suffrage vaut bien mieux que celui de la multitude égarée. Cependant si tu te portes au dehors, des visages contents t'exprimeront la tendresse, l'intérêt, le sentiment. Une vie, dont chaque instant sera marqué par la

paix

paix de ton ame, et l'affection des êtres qui t'environnent, te conduira paissiblement au terme de tes jours; car il faut que tu meures; mais tu te survis déjà par la pensée; tu vivras toujours dans l'esprit de tes amis, et des êtres que tes mains ont rendu fortunés; tes vertus y ont d'avance érigé des monumens durables. Si le ciel s'occupoit de toi, il seroit content de ta conduite, quand la terre en est contente."*

79.

Piety, or duty to God, is a duty founded upon fact, as well as duty to man. It is nothing more than resignation and thanksgiving, actions or affections are as strongly suggested by the nature of things, as justice and benevolence.

80.

Hartley's solution of the chief difficulty with respect to a supreme intelligent cause.
ii. 32.

“ If there be nothing but matter in the world, then the motions and modifications
of

* Mirabaud ii. 443.

of matter must be the cause of intelligence. But even finite intelligences, such as that of man, for instance, shew so much skill and design in their constitution, as also to shew that their causes, i. e. the appropriated motions and modifications of matter, must be appointed and conducted by a prior and superior intelligence. The infinite intelligence of God, therefore, (proved in the third proposition,) since it results from the motions and modifications of matter, requires another infinite intelligence to direct these motions, which is absurd. God is, therefore, proved to be immaterial from his infinite intelligence.

“ It is true, indeed, that our senses convey nothing to us but impressions from matter ; and, therefore, that we can have no express original ideas of any things, besides material ones ; whence we are led to conclude, that there is nothing but matter in the universe. However, this is evidently a prejudice drawn from our situation, and an argument taken merely from our ignorance and the narrowness of our faculties. Since, therefore, on the other hand, mere matter appears quite
unable

unable to account for the simplest and most ordinary phenomena, we must either suppose an immaterial substance, or else suppose, that matter has some powers, and properties, different and superior to those which appear. But this last supposition is the same, in effect as the first, though, on account of the imperfection of language, it seems to be different.

“ At the same time it ought to be observed, that if a person acknowledges the infinite power, knowledge, and goodness of God, the proofs of which are prior to, and quite independent on that of his immateriality, this person acknowledges all that is of practical importance. But then, on the other hand, it is also to be observed, that the opinion of the materiality of the divine nature, has a tendency to lessen our reverence for it, and, consequently, to invalidate the proofs of the divine power, knowledge, and goodness.”

N. B. This is an admirable and full answer to the chief objection in Mirabaud; and may be placed in a still stronger light, if we adopt the language of Berkley and Malbranche.

81. Let

81.

Let us suppose a legislator was to live five hundred years, and, during that whole time, had the privilege of making laws for England, the passions of mankind, &c. remaining as they are. What a series of schemes would be necessary to bring the people to virtue and happiness. So God, in his dispensations, deals with mankind as men.

82.

Thanksgiving, and acts of resignation, should form the chief parts of our pious intercourse with the deity. These may be defended upon the scheme of philosophical free will, or necessity, having God for its source.

83.

The following is the state of too many of the clergy and fellows of colleges, not to their dispraise, but by necessity; “che essendo privo de quello stimolo della vita attiva, che è la necessità di custodire, O di aumentare i commodi della vita, lascia alle passioni di opinione, che non sono le meno forti, tutta la loro energia.”

84. Cæsar

84.

Cæsar observed, that “ *omnia mala exempla ex bonis initiis orta sunt.*”* Hence, the corruptions of christianity under popery prove its primæval excellence.

85.

The following,* expresses my very sentiment, as expressed in my sermon.

“ On demande s’il est possible d’aimer la vertu pour elle-même. C’est peut-etre le sublime instinct de quelques ames privilegiées ; mais toutes les fois que l’amour de la vertu est réfléchi, il est intéressé. Ne croyez pas que cet aveu soit humiliant pour la nature, vous allez voir que l’intérêt de la vertu s’épure et s’ennoblit comme celui de l’amitié, l’un servira d’exemple à l’autre.

“ D’abord l’amitié n’est produite que par des vues de convenance, d’agrément et d’utilité. Insensiblement l’effet se degage de la cause ; les motifs s’évanouissent, le sentiment reste ; on y trouve un charme inconnu ; on y s’attache par habitude la douceur

* Sall. Bell. Cat. 51.

ceur de son existence : des lors les peines ont beau prendre la place des plaisirs que l'on attendoit ; on sacrifie a l'amitié tous les biens qu'on esperoit d'elle ; et ce sentiment, conçu dans la joie, se nourrit et s'accroît au milieu des douleurs. Il en est de même de la vertu. Pour attirer les cœurs, il faut qu'elle presente l'attrait de l'agrément ou de l'utilité : car avant de l'aimer, on se l'aime ; et avant d'en avoir joui, on cherche en elle un autre bien. Quand Regulus, dans sa jeunesse, la vit pour la première fois, elle étoit triomphante, et couronnée de gloire : il se passionna pour elle ; et vous savez s'il l'abandonna, lorsqu'elle lui montra des fers, des tortures, et des buchers." *

86.

The following two maxims are the sum and substance of all practical religion. 1st. In those circumstances, which will not bend to our will, to rest resigned to the course of things, satisfied that they are directed by the hand of providence to the general good.

2d.

* Marmontel. Belisaire. 101.

2d. In those circumstances which are influenced by our wills, to strive to conform them to the general course of providence, i. e. aiming to direct them to the greatest good, and cherishing in our hearts the love of human kind. (Mr. ——— says, that the soldiers and sailors hold the doctrine of predestination, which supports them, and at least makes them easy.) The foregoing maxims are the sentiments of my heart, in an hour when truth is most likely to prevail.
10th Oct. —73.

87.

If the Newtonian and Maclaurinian method of proving a deity will not strike, every other method, or more complex proof, must fail. The mind which rejects them must reject every other species of proof, and is unable to comprehend any truth whatsoever.

88.

Natural religion teaches us to hope for an hereafter. Revelation assures us of it. Natural religion teaches us to hope, that if a man repent, God will pardon. Jesus proclaimed

claimed remission of sins, i. e. he shewed, by the fact of inviting men to repent, that a conversion of the heart to God would be accepted by the father of mankind. I do not suppose that a person embracing christianity without practising the virtues, would be happy; but he was put in the way of making the proper atonement, by the authoritative declaration of God's pardon in case of amendment. These, the two grand purposes of Christ's coming. 31st Dec. 1773.

89.

The strongest argument for God's creative power, and disposing and preserving providence, from these three sections of Newton, the 9th, the 11th, and the 12th. The particles of matter might, for any thing we see, have attracted one another, according to an infinite variety of laws, but the inverse square the only wise one. This in my opinion destroys all the reasonings of Mirabaud. My lectures to — are, I trust, just. 9th Jan. 1774.

90.

Four points in christianity. 1st. Remission of sins on repentance assured to us by fact. 2d. Resurrection on the same foundation. Duties. 1st. Love of God. 2d. Love of man. A deist receives these from the light of nature. A christian from the express revelations from the author of nature. See all this in Tit. ii. 11.

91.

Natural rights which are not created, but only secured by society. 1. Life. 2. Liberty. 3. Property. 4. Marriage. 5. Divine worship.

92.

Women are not dealt with justly by the laws of the land. All laws of inferiority should be repealed. Compact supposes equality.

T H E S I S
HABITA IN SCHOLA THEOLOGICA
CANTABRIGIÆ.

21 DIE MARTII. MDCCLXXI.

NUNC PRIMUM IMPRIMITUR EX MS.
AUTOGRAPHO.

STATUS ANIMARUM IN INTERVALLO MORTIS AT-
QUE RESURRECTIONIS AGENTIUM QUICQUAM
SIVE SENTIENTIUM EX SACRIS LITERIS COL-
LIGI NEQUIT.

SI quis eorum instituta et præcepta, quos sapientum nomine priorum ætatum laudes honestarunt, animo recenseret et lustraret, multum sane sibi gratularetur nato, cum pleno orbe revelationis lumen mortalibus affulsit. Sive enim spes hominum vanas et caducas spectemus, sive eorundem vitas ad philosophiæ fallacis normam efficias contemplemur, in moribus inconstantia, in morte desperatio sæva dominata est. Quamplurimi certe ante Christum natum extiterunt doctrinâ perpoliti, honestissimis moribus ornati, civium decus et tutamen. Quid vero a nobis censendum est, cum eosdem videmus supremo spiritu profitentes virtutem nomen esse inane, ac nil post mortem a mortalibus sperandum? Semper ante oculos versatur vulgus superstitionibus pravis deditum et implicitum, omni morum spurcitie

inquinatum. Apparuit Christus solis instar
imbres atque nubes dissipantis, et statim,
diffugiunt tenebræ,

“ placatumque nitet diffuso lumine cælum.”

Mortalium generi erroris specie omni-
moda laboranti tandem succurritur: philo-
sophiæ forma vere divina sese cælo demisit,
et vultu ad sedes beatas penitus converso nos
a Lethæo amni, a mortis nigrore sempiterno
evellens atque vindicans, Elysi campos late
diffusos oculis subjecit, et favente fide, nos in
ipso cæli limine collocavit.

Quanquam vero ille summus præceptor,
cui soli in ecclesiam suam a Deo conceditur
dominium, ut nobis visum est, omnia clare
atque dilucide proposuit: exorta est tamen
per multa secula summis adversantium viri-
bus agitata questio: de quâ secundum aca-
demix instituta jam a nobis disputandum est.

Septimo ut traditur decurrente seculo
primo exortus est eorum error, qui volunt
vitâ defunctorum animas pœnis exerceri,
donec omnes excefferint corporeæ pestes, et
longa dies concretam labem exemërit, et
æthereum sensum purum et simplicem reli-
querit.* Hinc renatum est figmentum im-
mortalitatis

* Virg. Æn. vi. 745.

mortalitatis animæ ad purgatorii ignis doctrinam quæstuosissimam stabiliendam aptimè aptum et necessarium. Inde in ecclesiam anglicanam at miris modis inflexum atque modificatum profluxit, et paululum temporis inter confessiones nostras locum sibi vindicavit. Elizabetha principatum tenente, deliramenta hinc nascentia sanior ætas profligavit, emendati quidem seculi, et doctiorum hominum opprobria, ad somnia scholasticorum vero jam jamque abitura.

Priusquam autem investigemus utrum animis concedatur vigor perennis et immortalis, caute distinguendum est inter quæstiones quæ idem sonare videntur, ab invicem tamen toto cælo, ut dicitur, semotæ. Qui enim statuunt statum futurum ope rationis quodammodo patere, nos minimè habent secum dissidentes, nam strenuè pro numinis providentiâ et ipsi propugnamus, libentissimè sapientiam ac potentiam summi rerum conditoris et patris prædicamus, atque ex benignitatis in genus humanum hætenus exercitæ indiciis felicissima auguria favoris in posterum erga bonos duci posse confitemur. Qui nos ex pulvere finxit et formavit in
pulverem

pulverem conversos ad vitalis auræ communionem revocare potest; nec de voluntate quæstio est.

“ At posita hominum vitâ futurâ sequitur necessario animæ humanæ immortalitas.” Hanc vero conclusionem sequi ex iis, quæ de infinitâ Dei potentiâ, sapientiâ et bonitate conceduntur, negamus. Probant nimirum argumenta hinc desumpta, hominibus in terram cadentibus spem quandam reservari; minime vero ostendunt, animam a corpore sejunctam in æternum durare.

Ad legem vero et testimonium provocemus.

Paulus ad dilectissimum in evangelio filium Timotheum scribens, hisce verbis hortatur. “ Noli itaque erubescere testimonium domini nostri, neque me vincitum ejus: sed collabora evangelio secundum virtutem Dei, qui nos liberavit, et vocavit vocatione suâ sanctâ, non secundum opera nostra, sed secundum propositum suum et gratiam quæ data est nobis in Christo Jesu ante tempora sæcularia; manifestata est autem nunc per illuminationem salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, qui destruxit quidem mortem,

mortem, illuminavit autem vitam et incorruptionem per evangelium ?”*

Qui hæc verba sanius interpretati sunt, in duas sententias abiisse videntur.

Quibusdam nempe pro comperto habetur, Paulum in hoc loco ad Adami peccatum atque pœnam respexisse. Horum sententiæ minime nos inficias ibimus. Credunt itidem Adamum immortalis naturæ primo gaudentem, ob lacrymabilem suum lapsum spem hancce lætam et conditionem deponere coactum esse, ærumnis atque morti in posterum obnoxium. Hactenus nos secum consentientes trahunt. Ponunt denique ob Christi merita peccatum hocce humano generi condonari, et animæ restitui vigorem in omne ævum permanfurum. Horum sententiam a nostrâ quidem toto cælo sejungi prædicamus.

Aliam opinionem tuendam susceperunt permulti, de orbe christiano optimè meriti, quam nuper quidem celeberrimi archidiaconi Londinensis patrocínio honestatam videmus. In cujus castra, tanta est hominis
 admiratio,

* 2 Tim. i. 8—10.

admiratio, libentissime transiremus, si nos non tui, O sacrosancta veritas, prohiberet amor! tuam enim imaginem et amabilem formam cum Athanasio commorantem, si quidem cum Athanasio homine nequissimo et heretico vel punctum temporis commorari sustineres, veneramur; invisum vero atque tetrum erroris simulachrum, etiam si in pectore sanctissimis moribus ornato, et spiritu vere christiano instructo delitescat; etiam si ipse patrocinetur Jortinus, respuimus et oppugnamus.

Hosce igitur si audiamus, immortalitatis doctrinam hactenus obscure significatam solummodo collustravit Christus. Mortales a salutis viis atque semitis palantes reduxit, animarum immortalitatem et cœli portas fidelium oculis referavit, subjecit: Se clarum nuncium atque fidum numinis benignissimi interpretem morte suâ et resurrectione confirmavit.

Nobis vero aliud iter progredientibus videtur humano generi hæc primus retulisse, revelâsse Christus: abolitâ non quidem morte, quæ etiamnum in genus hominum desavit, abolito autem sempiterno mortis in
Adami

Adami posteros dominio. Corpore in cineres redacto, animam ipsam, animam dico extinguere necesse est. In sepulcro mens et corpus pariter sopita quiescunt, nec, si rerum naturam per interpretem suum Lucretium loquentem audiamus,

Quisquam expergitus exstat,
Frigida quem semel est vitæ pausa secuta.

Deo vero omnipotenti, qui rerum cursum atque exitum, et naturæ vices arbitrio suo temperat et disponit, hunc factorum ordinem rescindere placuit; has naturæ leges, naturæ parens, abrogavit, refixit. Nec placito obstat quam nunc cernimus corporis humani in terram, unde etiam sumptum fuit, conversio; nec ob lapsum Adami animæ extinctio, et oblivio rerum. Nobis quidem, vel iisdem, ut dicitur, personis, qui nunc conjugio corporis atque animæ apti vivimus, vitam immortalem, hoc est vitam, ærumnis atque morti minime obnoxiam, polliceri potest Deus, et ab integro tali vitâ vel vivendi conditione nos posthac suo tempore donare.

Nec quisquam de nobis tanquam hæc ex procaci ingenio et petulanti effutientibus existimet;

istumet; Christus enim et apostoli asseverant diem instare, patri soli notum, impiis sane terribilem et jure formidandum, piis vero sedulo expectandum, in quo qui mortui sunt vocem filii Dei exaudient, et vitam æternam, si probe, pie, et caste vixerint, consequentur.

En statum christianorum futurum! en verba veritatis, quæ spes naturæ, quæ rationis judicia amplissime confirmant!

De immortalitate animarum vero et de earundem natura prorsus filetur. Resurrectione Christi, tanquam rupe ventis atque æstu marino inconcusso et immoto, innititur resurrectio nostra. Christus surrexit, resurgentium primitiæ; adveniente Christo, nos itidem resurgemus.

Quoniam vero mos nunc per multa sæcula invaluit, ut, verba veritatis derelinquentes ad philosophorum placita confugiamus, et quæstionem vere theologicam ethnicorum somniis et argutiis et disputatiunculis temeremus, quædam ab iisdem fontibus, nos quoque delibemus.

Socrates tenuisse dicitur animos hominum esse divinos, eorumque duplices cursus e corpore

corpore excedentium : impiis quoddam iter esse, seclusum a concilio Deorum ; bonis vero et castis ad Deos a quibus essent profecti facilem reditum patere. Scilicet vir probus, castus, et ferme christianus omnia nutu entis sapientissimi et benignissimi administrari sensit. Mortalia vero omnia quæcunque sensibus offeruntur percipiens, vitâ atque resurrectione a Christo nondum patefacta, ad animarum immortalitatem statim confugit ; ne sententiam suam pene singularem de numinis summi justitiâ et bonitate prorsus abjiceret.

Zeno, stoicorum princeps atque pater, animum esse ignem, contrahi, atque labi, concidere et dormire dixisse perhibetur.

Immortalitatis animarum acerrimum vindicem fuisse Platonem confitemur. Animæ vero esse triplicem naturam statuens, principatum vel rationem in capite tanquam in arce collocans, iram in pectore, et cupiditatem subter præcordia detrudens, hæc omnia non a naturâ quâdam subtili, oculorum obtutum fugienti exorta, plane vero nominari posse affectus corporis tangibilis et sensibilis, profitetur.

Alii animam harmoniam, alii motionem esse quandam continuatam et perennem, prædicârunt; scilicet vel nugas agentes, aut revera nihil esse animam statuentes, et ad entia rationis, ut dicitur, referendam.

Epicuri sententia bene nota est, summi quidem viri, et omni laude mērito ornati et eumulati: hujusce de hâc re dogmata carminibus suis pœne divinis immortalitati consecravit Lucretius: qui argumentis plusquam viginti gravissimis demonstravit, mortalem vivere mentem. Quid enim ut summus ipse poeta loquitur,

Quid enim divertius esse putandum est,
Aut magis inter se disjunctum, discrepitanisque,
Quam mortale quod est, immortalī atque
perenni
Junctum; in concilio sævas tolerare procellas!

Agmen claudat vir celeberrimus, de quo sequentia a Marco Tullio referuntur.

“ Dicæarchus, in eo sermone, quem Corinthi habitum tribus libris exponit, Pherecratem quendam Pthiotam senem differentem inducit, nihil esse omnino animum, et nomen totum inane; frustra que animalia et animantes appellari; namque in homine
inesse

* Lucr. lib. iii. v. 804.

inest neque animum nec animam, nec in bestia: vimque omnem eam qua vel agamus quid, vel sentiamus, in omnibus corporibus vivis æquabiliter esse fusam, nec separabilem a corpore esse, quippe quæ nulla sit: nec sit quicquam, nisi corpus unum et simplex ita figuratum, ut temperatione naturæ vigeat et sentiat.”*

Huic Pherecrati Pthiotæ feni ex intimo animo atque corde nos quidem assentimur.

Animas hominum esse immateriales, et nihilominus vermibus rodi, igni materiali subjici, torreri, recentiorum quorundam figmentum est. Quicumque olim animam esse immortalem philosophati sunt, materiali natura donarunt. In hisce nugis discutiendis diutius immorari pudebit.

Sapissime vero qui sani et orthodoxi audiunt, mussitant doctores; Deum quidem immortalitatis animarum significationem et obscuram quandam imaginem Mosi et prophetis indulsisse. At loca requiro. Mihi enim veterum prophetarum sermones recolenti, Davidis obversatur oratio sæpius ejulantis. “ Scis inter mortuos neminem tui

memo-

* Tusc. Quæst. lib. i.

memorem : in sepulcro neminem tuas laudes celebrare.* Quodnam lucrum est in sanguine meo cum in foveam descendero ? an laudabit te pulvis ? an veritatem tuam nuntiabit ? † In sepulchrone narratur benignitas tua, et veracitas tua in statu, in quo sunt qui perierunt ? An in tenebris innotescunt mirabilia tua, et iustitia in terra oblivionis ? ‡ Isaïam audiamus : “ Mortui non reviviscunt, vitâ functi non resurgunt. || Neque enim sepulcrum laudabit, aut mors te celebrabit, neque qui in foveam descendunt, fidem a te datam expectabunt.” § Quidve in re tam clarâ memorem filium Davidis sapientissimum, qui diserte dicit, “ unus interitus est hominis et jumentorum, et æqua utriusque conditio. Sicut moritur homo, sic et illa moriuntur, similiter spirant omnia, et nihil habet homo jumento amplius. Cuncta subjacent vanitati, et omnia pergunt ad unum locum. De terrâ facta sunt, et in terram pariter revertuntur.” ¶

At mortui irasci, insolescere, mærare, plan- gere

* Psal. vi. 5.

† Psal. xxx. 9.

‡ Psal. lxxxviii. 11, 12.

|| Isa. xxvi. 14.

§ Isa. xxxviii. 18.

¶ Eccles. iii. 19—21.

gere dicuntur, agere igitur et sentire necesse est ut concedamus.

Hujusce erroris originem primus referat Tullius Cicero; postea præfulem Oxoniensem celeberrimum, omni nostrâ laude majorem, audiemus.

“ Qua in sede maneant animi, qualesque sint, ratione discendum est: cujus ignoratio finxit inferos. In terram enim cadentibus, hisque humo textis, (e quo ductum est humari,) sub terram censebant reliquam vitam agi mortuorum: quam eorum opinionem magni errores consecuti sunt, quos auxerunt poetæ; tantumque valuit error, ut corpora cremata cum scirent, tamen ea fieri apud inferos fingerent, quæ sine corporibus nec fieri possent nec intelligi.”*

In Lowthii prælectionibus de sacra hebræorum poesi, hæc verba præclara invenimus.

“ Qualis itaque ab animis a corpore junctis vita viveretur, quis eorum locus, forma, conditio, Hebræi juxta cum cæteris mortalibus in summa ignorance versabantur. Neque eos hac in parte vel minimum sacri codices adjuvere; haud quia hanc iis cognitionem invideret divina revelatio, sed quia

humanæ mentis conditio eam omnino non recipiat; quæ cum res a corpore et materia remotas contemplatur, propriarum notionum inopia cogitur ad improprias confugere, et corporeis incorporea quadantenus adumbrare. Cum itaque viderent corpora vita functa in terram cadere, eoque modo quo dictum est sepulcro condi, percrebuit apud Hebræos, ut apud cæteros etiam, opinio quædam popularis, agi sub terra vitam mortuorum deinceps consequentem: quam ut adsciscerent vates sacri, etiam necesse erat, si modo de hac re omnino loqui et intelligi vellent.

“ Atque hinc plane est quod mortui toties dicuntur descendere in foveam, in inferiora terræ, ad portas et penetralia lethi; ad saxa, ad latera, ad repagula cavernæ: hausit eos avidis faucibus sepulcrum, atque os iis occludit: decumbunt in Barathro, in loca vasta, in voraginem, tenebrasque profundissimas demersi; in terram caliginis, et umbram mortis, immanem, tetram, carentem ordine; et ubi pro luce veluti diradiatur caligo.”*

Nunc vero christum et apostolos adeamus; et statim perfentio, quod, largior hic campos æther,

* Prælec. septima. edit. 1763.

æther, et lumine vestit purpureo: etenim non imaginibus obscuris atque simulacris, non longis ambagibus adumbratus nobis declaratur reportatus de morte triumphus. Omnia clare et dilucide fidelium oculis proponuntur. Mortem abolevit victor Christus, et per evangelium vitam et immortalitatem illustravit. A Joanne inducitur diserte dicens; “descendi de cælo non ut meam, sed ut ejus qui me misit voluntatem exequar; hæc est autem patris qui me misit voluntas, ut quicquid mihi dederit nihil ex eo deperdam, sed ultimo die illud resuscitem.”* Se vocat item primum et ultimum, se habere gloriatur claves inferorum et mortis, se in gloriâ patris tandem venturum confirmat, clangente tubâ, angelorum comitatu stipatum, mortuos resuscitados unâ cum viventibus in cælos fore rapiendos, ut domino in aere obviam eamus, et ita cum domino in æternum habitemus.

Nondum vero venit ea hora, nondum sonuit tuba; etiamnum sanctorum corpora, et si dentur animæ, animæ etiam in sepulcris delitescunt. In quodnam ergo tempus relegare

O 3

velis

* Johan : vi. 38, 39.

velis iudicis mortuorum et viventium adventum, meritaſque et præclaras diſcipulorum Chriſti palmas? Ex quo enim majores obdormiverunt, omnia in eodem ſtatu ab orbe condito perſeſverant.

Illuſores hoſce, quos in ultimis temporibus venturos vaticinatus eſt Chriſtus, hoc modo convincit et redarguit Petrus. “ Non tardat dominus promiſſum ut nonnulli tarditatem interpretantur, ſed lentus eſt erga nos, nolens quenquam perire, ſed omnes ad pænitentiam volens reverti.”* Et poſtea, ne adverſarii triumphos agant, ne fratres chriſtiani longa expectatione contabeſcant, animos eorum ſubito et inopinato Chriſti adventu erigere et conſolari conatur. “ Veniet quidem domini dies ut fur noctu; in quâ cæli magno impetu interibunt, elementa ardentia diſſolventur, et tellus et quæ ſunt in eâ conflagrabit.”† Atque ſtatim, eos ad quos miſſa eſt epiſtola, alloquitur; “ qua propter, chariſſimi his expectandis, date operam ut ab eo immaculati et inculpati cum pace repერიამინი.”‡

Eodem

* 2. Pet. iii. 9.

† Ibid. iii. 10.

‡ Ib. iii. 14.

Eodem more atque modo omnibus, qui sese differentem audiverunt, vigilandum esse confirmavit Christus. Ab omnibus fidelibus etiam ab apostolis, adventum ejus in gloriâ patris expectandum.

Iisdem dolorum et ægritudinum fomentis, Theſſalonicenſes ſuos graviter commotos, et ob interitum amicorum immodice lugentes, conſolatur Paulus. Ploraviſſe videntur et congemuſſe eorum caſum, qui morte obitâ, ab omni ſpe hereditatis ſuæ conſequendæ dejecti et depulſi videbantur. Coloribus plane diſſimilibus recentiorum conſolatoria depingitur atque illuminatur oratio. “ Fra-
tres et amici, luctum et mærorem depo-
nite, in animam mors nequaquam dominari
valet. E corporis vinculis erupit, evaſit.
Sublimis ſcandit nubes, ad æthera, unde
primum dilapſa eſt, revertitur; ad ſinum
patris ſui atque Dei migravit. Cum Chriſto
verſata, gaudium ſummum et ſælicitatem
enarrabilem, percipit, a morte et morta-
lium æumnis in æternum vindicta.”

Theologum et oratorem, iis quos nunc
fert tellus certè præſtantiorem, audite Pau-
lum. “ Hoc vobis annunciamus in verbo

domini, quod nos, qui vivimus, qui residui sumus in adventum domini, non prævenerimus eos, qui dormierunt; at mortui in Christo primo resurgent.”* Quænam igitur rerum facies rapidum et ardentem Pauli spiritum, pleno flumine dum ferri videbatur oratio, coercere potis est: respondeo, sacrosancta, ut in Jesu invenitur, veritas; quam inviolatam et intemeratam fervare decebat. Hinc Theſſalonicenſium ſpes et expectationes ad tempus, ut patet, longinquum invitatus et plane coactus relegat; nec ut auditorum animos ad partes ſuas deliniat, evangelii veritatem figmentis hominum contaminare ausus eſt.

Etiamnum adventum vero tardante Chriſto, multorum amor tandem refrigeſcit, ad ſpes inanes, ad ſomnia philoſophorum iterum devoluti ſumus. Immortalitatem animarum ad incudem revocamus, et, claro revelationis lumine poſthabito, reclamante ratione, et naturâ rerum, honeſtiorẽ literarum cultum quæ dedecorant argutiis et diſputatiunculis, ſtabilire conamur. Nobis ſane, majorem ævi partem qui tamen ſomno conterimus,

* 1 Theſſ. iv. 15, 16.

conterimus, adeo grave et acerbum videtur hocce intervallum otio et silentio transigere; scilicet sollicitis, semel si dormire concedatur, ne Endymionis more in monte Latmo recumbentis, in æternum dormiendum sit. Atque adeo in infano labore, atque infelici defudavimus, ut tandem resurrectionem mortuorum a Christo pollicitam, et resurrectione Christi confirmatam solam atque unicam statûs futuri spem certam et indubitatam, in ejusdem corporis caduci, debilis, et infirmi resurrectionem, spem quidem vermium magis quam hominum, penitus convertimus.

Argumenta a sacris literis deprompta, quibus talem opinionem tueri volunt adversarii, pro virili in disputatione refellere conabimur. Hujusce loci sit solummodo scrupulum injicere, utrum hæc merces laborum, hæc virtutis præmia, tanto verborum apparatu, tantâ prædicatione digna sint, dum in tenebris et carcere corporis, ut dicitur, claudantur animæ, dira pati posse, et credimus et videmus; semel vero e custodiâ corporis et colluvione dimissas iterum in cætum et conjugium corporis velle reverti, prorsus et mirum

mirum et incredibile censendum est. Melius
Æneas,

O pater, anne aliquas ad cælum hinc ire
putandum est

Sublimes animas, iterumque ad tarda reverti
Corpora? quæ lucis miseris tam dira cupido?*

Certe si quidquam de meipso prædicare
licet, unice exopto, ut quæcunque revelavit
Deus, patienter investigem, fideliter tradam,
forti animo et invicto defendam. Ut doc-
trinam Christi vitâ atque moribus ad pietatis
et virtutis normam rite compositis semper
ornem. Ut supremo spiritu exclamare li-
ceat, vixi, et quem dederit cursum naturæ
parens, peregi.† Sit mihi denique libertas,
evangelii ob amorem, natali solo gratior.
In articulo mortis resurgendi certa spes, in
ipsâ morte, alta quies, placidusque somnus.

Ex præmissis igitur concludo, quod status
animarum in intervallo mortis atque resur-
rectionis agentium quicquam sive sentien-
tium ex sacris literis colligi nequeat.

* Virg. Æn. vi.

† Ib. Æn. iv. 654.

A
S H O R T S T A T E
O F T H E
R E A S O N S
F O R A L A T E
R E S I G N A T I O N;
T O W H I C H A R E A D D E D,
O C C A S I O N A L O B S E R V A T I O N S.
A N D
A L E T T E R T O T H E R I G H T R E V E R E N D
T H E B I S H O P O F N O R W I C H.

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NOW RE-PRINTED

FROM THE THIRD EDITION,

MDCCLXXVI.

A SHORT STATE, &c.

IN compliance with the suggestions of some worthy persons; who had perused a letter I sent to the bishop of Norwich previous to my resignation, I have now stated more fully my opinion, respecting the particular point of doctrine, which gave occasion to that measure: I have added some remarks concerning the spirit of protestantism, and the study of the scriptures, which I hope will not be judged unseasonable; and have subjoined the above-mentioned letter to my late diocesan.

I submit my sentiments on these subjects to the candour of the public. I would not willingly shock the feelings of any pious christian. Let such reflect, that if I have embraced an opinion respecting the person of our saviour, which is chargeable with heterodoxy, my declaration of such opinion cannot have the remotest tendency to the
imposition

imposition of it on his conscience. It is in the option of every reader to reject it, if in his own apprehension it is abhorrent from the doctrines of the gospel.

It has been for some time past my firm persuasion, that the doctrine of the trinity, as explained in the creed of Athanasius ; as propounded in the thirty-nine articles of the church of England ; as established in the liturgy ; and further guarded by penal sanctions in an act of parliament passed in the reign of William the third, is equally contrary to sound reason and the holy scriptures. I am fully satisfied that in the divine nature there is no plurality of persons ; but that the almighty author of the universe is, in the strictest sense of the expression, ONE. And I think I have reason to believe, that the present openly avowed adherence of most established churches to the contrary persuasion, which does not appear to be conformable to the sentiments of christians in the earliest and the purest ages of the church, is not only one of the most powerful obstructions to the conversion of the mahometans and the jews ; but is also an
almost

almost invincible objection to the cordial reception of the gospel by many serious well-disposed persons, in every rank of life, and in every state in christendom.

Many worthy persons, to whom the trinitarian doctrine appears utterly indefensible, are yet inclined to believe, that the prayers of christians may with propriety be directed to Jesus Christ, and imagine that they may be vindicated in this practice by the command of their saviour, and the example of his apostles.

With the most perfect charity for those who entertain these sentiments, I profess myself to be of a different opinion. I am stedfastly persuaded that the creator of the world; the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, who is in the new Testament also stiled “the God and father of our Lord Jesus Christ,” is therein represented as the only proper object of religious adoration.

I nevertheless acknowledge that a very high degree of respect and veneration is due to the character of Jesus, as the anointed prophet of the most high, far excelling in dignity and power every prophet who preceded

ceded him. I honour him as the “son of God,” in what appears to me the scripture acceptation of that term; as the common Lord of christians; as the appointed judge of the living and the dead. But, at the same time, I am convinced, that the distance between him and deity is infinite; that prayer to him is no where commanded in the scriptures; and, consequently, that the addressees of christians may with the same propriety be directed to the virgin Mary, as to the person of our Lord.

Most of the clauses of the litany, and some other prayers and invocations in the established liturgy of the church of England, are immediately addressed to our favour; and honour and glory are frequently ascribed to the holy spirit, as to a divine agent, distinct from the person of the father; an idea, in my opinion, not warranted by the oracles of God.

While I held preferment, it certainly was my duty to officiate in the established service of the church. But, oppressed by the consciousness that my sentiments, respecting the object of devotion, were diametrically opposed

opposed to those doctrines, upon which her form of worship is founded, I have not been able, for some time past, to discharge this part of my function without great disquiet. My anxiety hourly increased. I, therefore, at length found it necessary to embrace the only measure that seemed to promise me tranquillity. The event hath corresponded with my expectation. Having resigned my preferment, and with it having divested myself of the character of a minister in the church of England, I have recovered that serenity of mind to which I had been long a stranger.

Having now explained the immediate motive of my resignation with sufficient precision, I turn to the consideration of some other points, not wholly unconnected with the present subject.

Religious controversy, in consequence of the long prevalence of system, appearing absolutely necessary to the establishment of scriptural truth ; and yet, through the heat and violence of the contending parties, being too frequently productive of dissensions, which dissolve the bonds of christian cha-

rity, it may possibly conduce to edification, if the following circumstances be considered with a due attention.*

It will appear, I trust, to every serious inquirer into the nature of our religion, that a person is strictly entitled to the appellation of a christian, when, believing in the divine mission of Jesus, he explicitly declares that he submits to his authority in every point of religious faith and doctrine; at the same time, expressing a sincere disposition to adorn his profession by a suitable life and conversation.

With respect to the nature of the particular doctrines that are contained in the
gospel,

* It is painful to observe, that the present age has afforded a melancholy instance of this unchristian spirit, in the treatment, which the truly candid and very learned Mr. Lindsey has received from some of his opponents.

The worthy author of the "Remarks on Mr. Burgh's scriptural confutation" has, in his "Addenda" to that tract, ably rebuked this illiberal spirit; and, in both his publications, has evinced, by a train of reasoning which appears to me irresistible, the inconclusiveness of the various objections urged against those substantial arguments, which are advanced in the "Apology" in favour of the proper unity of God.

gospel, it should be esteemed as a fundamental principle of protestantism, that every christian is possessed of an indefeasible right of judging for himself, and of avowing that judgment, in whatever manner he thinks proper. He is to receive the comments of learned persons, the decisions of churches, the decrees of councils, not as authorities, but as helps, if it may so chance, to his more ready comprehension of the word of God. Where he imagines these interpretations to be just, he admits them, because his own understanding, aided by sound criticism, approves them. Where he conceives them to be erroneous, conscious of his intire right to interpret for himself, he rejects them; and if he apprehends that the subject is of sufficient importance, uniting the spirit of a Luther with the mildness of a Melancthon, he controverts them openly, though countenanced by the concurrent approbation of whole generations of men, and established by the civil institutions of his country.

The right, which the protestant claims for himself, he permits to be exercised by

others, in the fullest latitude. He treats the persons of his brethren, however differing in sentiment from himself, with that respect and unabated affection, which their station, or his own connection with them demands: And, in cases of controversy, he considers their opinions, and the arguments by which they are supported, with becoming candour.

Justly sensible, that the right of worshipping the great creator, according to that specific ceremonial, which the conscience of each man shall approve, is a right inherent in our common nature, is superior to the control of laws, and prior to the very existence of civil society, he extends the principle of christian toleration not only to all sects and subdivisions of christians, but even beyond the profession of christianity itself. If he acknowledges, that the majority may appropriate a portion of the revenue of a state to the support of a national form of public worship, he maintains, that such form should be as comprehensive as possible, and that such appropriation is the utmost limit of their lawful power; condemning, as equally intolerant and unwise, the too
general

general practice of confining the enjoyment of various civil privileges, within the pale of a particular communion; and contending, in conformity with the dictates of right reason and the fundamental principles of the social compact, that every person in the community, who preserves inviolate that common bond of allegiance, which is the evidence of the union of its members, ought to be continued, whatever may be his persuasion in matters of a merely religious nature, in the undisturbed possession of his right of rising to the attainment of every honour or emolument, to which his honest industry, the favour of his fellow-citizens, or royal inclination can exalt him.

If the religion, thus established, be declared to be christian and protestant, he contends that the Bible, and the Bible only, ought to be considered as an all-sufficient directory to the preacher, in his discourses from the pulpit: and esteems every institution, whether civil or ecclesiastical, as an high violation of the original charter of christians, which requires a declaration of assent to any other test of orthodoxy, as a

necessary qualification for the office of a teacher in the church of Christ.

He is persuaded, that the love of God and the love of man, form the sum and substance of all true religion. He venerates the amiable form of truth. He is sensible that every material error, respecting the object of religion, is attended with pernicious consequences; and, therefore, endeavours to exhibit the doctrine of the gospel in its primæval purity. Yet, conscious of the frailties of our common nature, and reflecting, that on account of the unjustifiable animosities among christians about articles, falsely supposed to be essential to salvation,* the sacred name of religion is often itself profaned, he sedulously maintains, that those persons, who, in the integrity of their hearts,

and

* The following texts, attentively considered, will, I trust, sufficiently evince, that Jesus claimed or was entitled to the attention of mankind, not from the inherent dignity of his nature, but from the attested excellence of his delegated office, viz. Mat. ix. 8. Lu. iv. 18. 21. xi. 20. Jo. v. 19—24. 30. 36. viii. 26. 28. 29. xii. 23. xvii. 1. 2. 3. Acts ii. 22. 23. 24. 36. x. 38. 40. xiii. 23. 30. xvii. 30. 31. 2 Cor. v. 18. 19. &c. &c.

and after due inquiry, embrace the athanasian, the arian, the socinian, or any other system, with respect to the person of our saviour, or the particular tendency of his sufferings to promote the salvation of mankind, may equally be persuaded of the divine authority of the gospel; equally disposed to testify an unreserved obedience to its doctrines; and, by just consequence, if equally exemplary in the discharge of every christian duty, will equally be entitled to reward.

It might perhaps be esteemed more methodical, if I prefaced the following reflections upon the study of the scriptures, with a representation of the necessary connection between the belief of christianity, and the practice of every social virtue. But the natural tendency of the religion of the gospel to correct that selfish spirit, from which every disorder flows in public and in private life, has been so ably shewn by divines of all persuasions, that I shall not employ my own time, or trespass on my readers patience, by the demonstration of so clear a point.

It may not, however, be improper to hint, that the outward pomp and splendour of religious establishments, attended with the solemn affectation of mystery, which more or less prevails in most of them, are seldom productive of any salutary effects to the real interests of the human race. It is only when the vital principle of manly piety, generated by a serious attention to the doctrines of an intelligible religion, is deeply seated in the well-informed mind, that we can expect the growth of those generous virtues, which diffuse harmony and joy over every scene of social life, or the prevalence of that faith, which overcometh the world.

At a period, when each less valuable mode of science is rapidly progressive, the state of scriptural knowledge appears to be very imperfect; although we are possessed of every essential requisite to its improvement.

That we are at this hour, in a great measure, involved in the gloom of monkish ignorance, is highly probable from the endless disputations among christians, upon points esteemed fundamental; and from the manner

ner in which we generally conduct ourselves in the investigation of religious truth.

The inquirer into the credenda, contained in the gospel, resembles the inquirer into the fundamental laws of nature, before a better philosophy had taught us the vanity of system, and inclined us to adopt the humbler process of experiment.

We begin our researches in theology with the assumption of a certain set of religious tenets, and frequently employ the most valuable of those hours which we destine to sacred study, in collecting arguments in their favour, and in vain endeavours to explain them; while every text of scripture is, in its turn, perverted from its obvious meaning, in order to support them.

How much more reasonable, previously to investigate, with patience and critical attention, the sense of each particular text or passage, in the natural order of the writer, and to defer the formation of opinion, until, like a principle of sound philosophy, suggested by a numerous train of experiments, it forces itself with accumulated evidence on the yielding mind!

It

It is solely owing to the preposterous method of inquiry, above described, that the holy records of our faith have, very injuriously, been supposed to be so loosely worded, as, in fact, to countenance opposite opinions, and to justify the most fantastic doctrines.

But let us for a moment reflect, and let the reflection teach us wisdom, that the same phenomena of nature, which were brought in evidence of the figments of remote antiquity, were also applied to support the equally vain hypotheses of more modern times. The laws of the material world, in consequence of the introduction of a better method of investigation, are, however, now demonstrated to be consistent, simple, and invariable, affording a just and easy explication of every natural appearance. If a similar process be observed, similar success may reasonably be expected to be our reward, when we explore the sacred sources of religious truth.

That unity of sentiment, respecting the leading truths of revelation, which is the natural result of a sober and unbiassed search, conducted under the influence of the christian

tian graces, leads to unity of religious worship ; and unity of worship, thus circumstanced, to christian peace.*

I close these pages with my letter to my late diocefan.

To the right rev. the bishop of Norwich.

(Copy.)

MY LORD,

I think it proper to give you this previous information, that I propose to resign the rectory of Homersfield and vicarage of Flixton, into your lordship's hands, upon the 29th or 30th of the present month (September.)

As the motives which induce me to embrace

* In this progress, from the investigation of scriptural truth to its final consequence, the establishment of christian peace, it appears to me to be essentially necessary, that an open avowal of our persuasion should accompany a change of sentiment in every instance of importance, more especially in that consequential article, the object of religious worship. And, therefore, I cannot but highly approve the general principle, on which Mr. Lindsey's plan of a reformed liturgy is founded, as well as that particular ceremonial, which he has given to the public, and continues to conduct with so much propriety and success.

brace this resolution, may possibly be misconstrued, it will not, I trust, be thought impertinent, if I state them to your lordship.

In the first place, I think it necessary to assure your lordship, that, although I esteemed it to be my duty to take an active part in the late petition of the clergy, the principles maintained in that just remonstrance, do not, in my apprehension, appear to lay me under any obligation to relinquish my present station.

The author of the "Confessional," my lord, had convinced me of the unlawfulness and inexpediency of requiring a subscription to systematic articles of faith and doctrine, from the teachers of the gospel in a protestant church.

My own observation, in the university of Cambridge, further tended to satisfy me with respect to the impropriety of such a requisition: and the visible neglect of the study of the scriptures, in this age and country, seemed, in a great measure, to be derived from that restraint of the exercise of private judgment, which is the unavoidable consequence of this unedifying imposition.

With

With these convictions, it was impossible for me to decline engaging with those distinguished friends of religious liberty, who associated for the purpose of soliciting, for themselves and their brethren of the church of England, an exemption from the obligation of declaring or subscribing their assent to any formulary of doctrine, which should be proposed as explanatory of the word of God.

It appeared to me, to be a sufficient reason for such application, that the doctrines, contained in the thirty-nine articles, being the deductions of frail and fallible men, and expressed in unscriptural terms, were essentially differenced, in point of authority, from those holy scriptures, to which we have professed an absolute and unreserved submission, as the only rule of religious faith and practice; and that the requisition of assent to them was, eventually, subversive of the right of private judgment; a right, on which every protestant church was founded, and, the exercise of which, our own church, in particular, in one of her forms of ordination, not only allows us, but enjoins.

It

It also appeared evident to me, that the inquiry, whether or no the thirty-nine articles express the genuine sense of scripture, was a question of a very different nature from that, to which the petitioners invited the attention of their brethren; that persons of the most opposite opinions, with respect to the doctrine of the articles, might unite in a declaration, that every attempt to effect an uniformity of sentiment concerning the sense of scripture, by other means than the force of argument, and rational conviction, was utterly unwarrantable, and bore too striking a resemblance to that spirit of intolerance, which forms the distinguishing character of anti-christian Rome: and, lastly, that many members of our church might be truly sensible of the inexpediency of requiring this subscription; might address a competent tribunal with a view of effecting an abolition of the practice, and yet continue to hold and to accept preferment, without violating the dictates of conscience, and with great advantage to the christian cause.

My objections, my lord, to the accepting and the holding of preferment in the church

church of England, bear no relation to the cause of the petitioning clergy; the reasons which influenced me in the forming of the resolution, now communicated to your lordship, are intirely my own.

After the most serious and dispassionate inquiry, I am persuaded, my lord, from the concurrent testimony of reason and revelation, that the supreme cause of all things, is, not merely in essence, but also in person, ONE.

By the force of the same evidence I am convinced, that this almighty power is the only proper object of religion.

The liturgy of the church of England is obviously founded upon the idea, that in the divine nature is a trinity of persons, to each of which every species of religious adoration is addressed, as well as such powers ascribed, as are the incommunicable attributes of God.

Under my persuasion of the erroneoufness of this doctrine, I cannot any longer, with satisfaction to myself, officiate in the established service: and, as I certainly can have no claim to the emoluments of my
profession

profession, unless I am willing to perform the duties of it, I, therefore, resign my preferment.

But, my lord, although I find myself under an obligation to relinquish my present station in the church of England, I do not renounce the profession of a christian. On the contrary, penetrated by the clearest convictions of the high importance, and divine authority of the gospel, I will labour to promote the advancement of scriptural knowledge with increasing zeal; and will ever be ready to unite, with heart and hand, in any just and legal attempt to remove the burthen of subscription to human formularies, which I esteem one of the most powerful obstructions to its progress.

I remain, &c.

A N A N S W E R
T O
T H E A U T H O R
O F

“ A LETTER TO THE REV. MR. JEBB,
WITH RELATION TO HIS DECLARED
SENTIMENTS ABOUT THE UNLAW-
FULNESS OF ALL RELIGIOUS AD-
DRESSES TO CHRIST JESUS.”

FIRST PUBLISHED MDCCLXXIX.
AS A POSTSCRIPT TO MR. LINDSEY'S
"TWO DISSERTATIONS, ON THE
PREFACE TO SAINT JOHN'S GOSPEL;
AND PRAYING TO JESUS CHRIST."

TO THE AUTHOR OF "A LETTER," &c.

S I R,

IN the first page of your preface, you take notice, that having been accustomed to consider religious addresses unto Christ, as founded on the new Testament, you esteemed it to be incumbent on you, after reading my positive denial of their lawfulness, "to examine the grounds upon which I rested the vindication of that assertion;" and proceed to observe, that "I had referred my readers to Mr. Lindsey's book, as containing unanswerable reasoning on this subject."

In your table of contents you assert, that "Dr. Jebb expressly condemns all religious addresses to Jesus Christ, and refers his readers to Mr. Lindsey's Apology, for the proof thereof." In page the second of your letter, after quoting the following words from my pamphlet: viz. "I am convinced that the addresses of christians, may, with the same

propriety, be directed to the virgin Mary, as to the person of our Lord ;” you proceed to say, “ that I refer my readers to Mr. Lindsey,” who hath laboured at great length to prove, that prayer to our Lord Jesus Christ is not authorised in the writings of the new Testament ; and you declare your intention of examining what he has advanced upon this subject, in the same order in which he hath proposed it, for the purpose of trying whether it is sufficient to justify the conclusion I have drawn thence.

This examination is comprised in the following pages, to the 55th inclusive. In the 56th, which is the last page but one of your letter, you write as follows : “ To conclude then, if my interpretation of the places in scripture be right, it follows, sir, that your position ‘ that the addressees of christians may, with the same propriety, be directed to the virgin Mary, as to the person of our Lord,’ is far from being true.”

With respect to the preceding passages, I trust it will be esteemed sufficient for me to observe, that all these assertions, and conclusions, proceeding upon the idea of my
having

having actually referred my readers to Mr. Lindsey's publication for a proof of my position, are absolutely destitute of all foundation.

My pamphlet may easily be obtained. I appeal from your assertions to the book itself. My declaration, respecting the propriety of addressing prayer to Christ Jesus, will be found as you have quoted it, but without a single word of reference to Mr. Lindsey, or to any other person.

The proper unity of God, and the unlawfulness of addressing prayer to Christ Jesus, are very different questions. The great Socinus very ably defended the former question, and, at the same time, attempted to refute the arguments of Franciscus Davides, who maintained the latter. I have spoken with approbation of Mr. Lindsey's arguments, respecting the proper unity of God, but have not referred to, or declared either my approbation or disapprobation of his reasonings, respecting the impropriety of religious addresses unto Christ. The design of my publication has been intirely misapprehended. Upon re-perusing of it, you may

perceive, that it was not my intention to engage in controversy, but chiefly to assign the reasons, which induced me to relinquish my station in the church of England. I declared that I resigned my preferment because I held opinions diametrically opposite to those, on which the established form of public worship is founded. I declared and unfolded these opinions without reserve; but this circumstance laid me under no kind of obligation to maintain them by argument: my private persuasion of their truth was a sufficient reason for my conduct.

But had it been my intention to enter into the principles, upon which my opinion respecting the point in question is founded, it is not probable, that I should have contented myself with referring to Mr. Lindsey's publication, however highly I approve his arguments, and respect his authority. I should also have thought it my duty to have endeavoured to establish the truth of so important a position by such deductions, as at least would have convinced my readers, that I had not taken up my opinion without some reflection on the subject; and should
unques-

unquestionably have referred, perhaps very largely, to those passages in the sacred writings, which, in my apprehension, would enable my readers to determine the question for themselves. It has long been my persuasion, that we pay too much deference to the opinions of men, respecting religion; and too little to the word of God, from which alone all our ideas respecting the gospel ought to be deduced. In the lectures I gave upon the evangelists, during my residence at Cambridge, I always endeavoured to convince my pupils, that it was their duty to make as much use as possible of their own reason, when employed in exploring the genuine sense of scripture. Not that I would presume myself, or would advise others to reject the lights, which the labours of learned men, engaged in the same pursuit, from time to time, have holden forth to us; on the contrary, I think it necessary to avail ourselves of every assistance we can procure, but, at the same time, I would always press the use of private judgment; by which I would be understood to mean, the exercise of a judgment intirely

unbiaſſed by authority, and free from every kind of prejudice, ſuch as becomes every man, in a caſe, which to every man is of private concern.

This freedom of the mind, from the exertion of which the moſt glorious conſequences would be derived to ſociety, I hold to be eſſential in conſtituting the character of a true proteſtant. The invaſion of it, by any human authority, how reſpectable ſoever, I eſteem as an outrage againſt the majeſty of heaven ; as it tends to deprive the almighty of the proper homage of his creatures. I have contended, and to the laſt hour of my life will contend for its eſtabliſhment, in its moſt unlimited extent ; and I proteſt againſt the ungenerous policy, which at the preſent moment, under pretence of zeal for the intereſts of chriſtianity, really aims at eſtabliſhing the empire of the magiſtrate over conſcience, and of thereby ſubjecting the nobleſt faculties, and endowments of our nature, to the luſt of lawleſs power, the moſt baneful paſſion of our frame.

But at the ſame time that I think it incumbent upon me, to correct the falſe conception

ception you have entertained of the design of my pamphlet; I do also think it my duty to assure you, that it is not on account of any diffidence in Mr. Lindsey's abilities, or disapprobation of his argument, that I decline being a party in the controversy, which he sustains with so great advantage, to what I esteem the cause of genuine christianity, and with so much honour to himself. I am engaged in the studies and the duties of a profession, which demand my utmost attention. In such circumstances, it will not be expected, by any reasonable man, that I should enter upon those arguments, which have induced me to embrace my present opinions on this subject; but I will never decline any proper opportunity of declaring them, as I always have esteemed an open avowal of our religious persuasions, to be the indispensable duty of a christian and a protestant.

You mention, that at the time of writing your letter, you had read only Mr. Lindsey's Apology; you possibly, since that period, have seen his Sequel. I trust, that your candour will induce you attentively to peruse the
pre-

preceding pages of this work, in which the point of the lawfulness of religious addresses to Christ Jesus is still farther debated. If you wish to know my opinion on the subject, as the opinion of a private person not involved, and who means not, at present, to involve himself in the controversy, I will freely own, that I intirely assent, both in general and particular, to the arguments, by which Mr. Lindsey establishes the proper unity of God, as well as to those, by which he demonstrates the offering of addresses to Christ Jesus to be destitute of all scriptural foundation; and that, notwithstanding what yourself, and other opponents have objected, I am persuaded he has sufficiently, and very ably proved these points.

At the same time that I make this voluntary declaration of my sentiments, respecting Mr. Lindsey's publications, I with great willingness give my tribute of praise to the zeal which yourself, and another of my correspondents, the rev. Mr. Tew, have manifested for what appears to you to be the cause of truth. I respect the learning
and

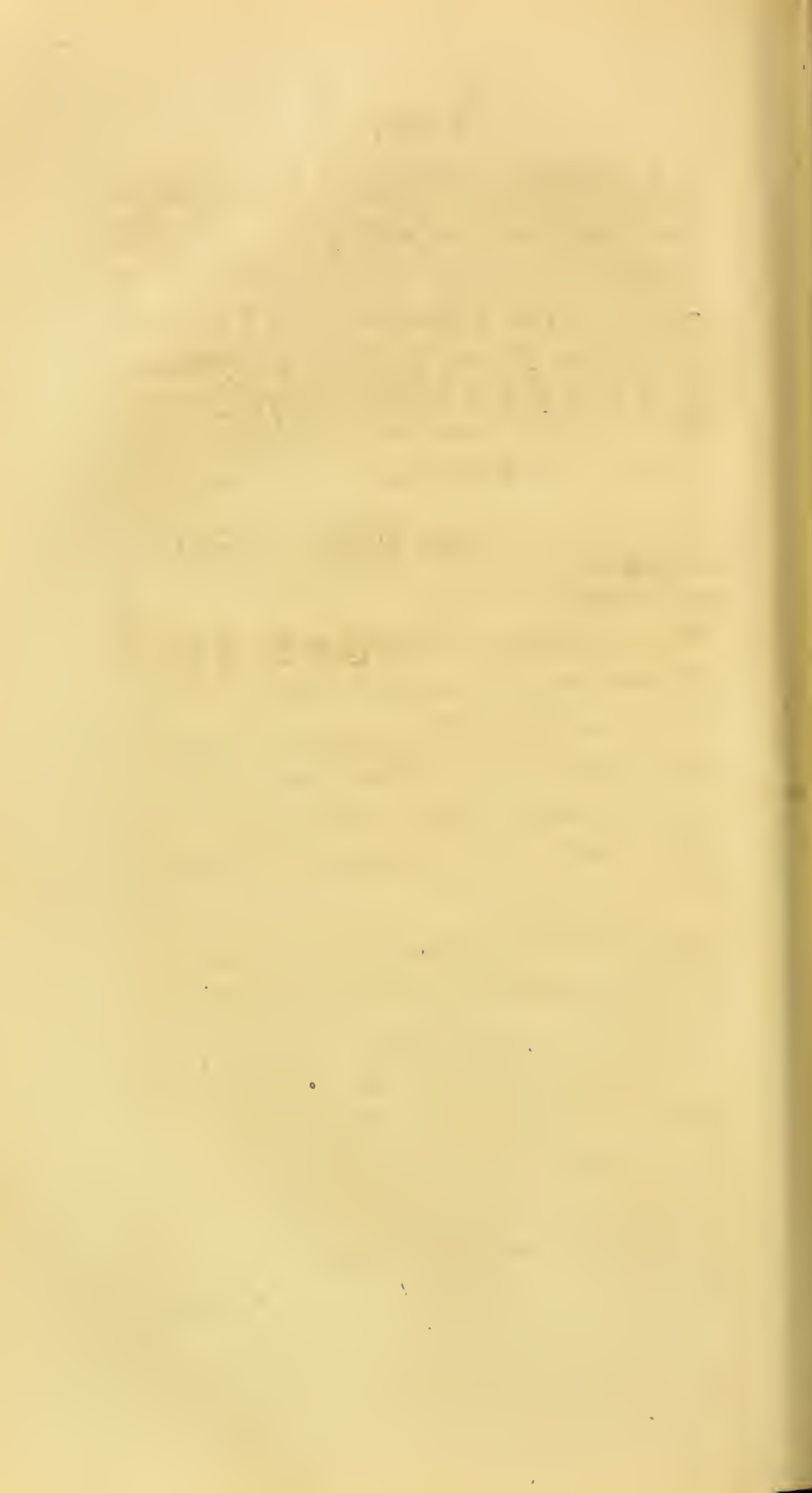
and the abilities of both. I honour you for your sentiments, respecting the unalienable rights of christians ; for your candour to the persons of your opponents ; and I am under obligations to you both for expressions of good will, and of civility to myself.

I am, sir,

your obedient Servant,

Craven-Street,
April 22, 1779.

J O H N J E B B.



A SKETCH OF THE PLAN OF
THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE
SCRIPTURES.

FIRST PUBLISHED MDCCLXXXIII.

A SKETCH OF THE PLAN, &c.

As it appears to be a point of some importance, that the specific design of the society should be perfectly comprehended, it may not be improper to request the attention of their future correspondents to the following circumstances.

To impress the human heart with just affections respecting the almighty, and our fellow-creatures; to animate us in the performance of our duty; and to qualify us for the enjoyment of substantial happiness, if not always in the present, yet most assuredly in a future scene, are the great ends and objects of religion: and constitute the characteristic excellence of the christian institution.

And whenever that truly rational system of faith and practice, which is unfolded in the scriptures, shall be professed in its primæval purity; when the piety and benevolence which they inculcate, shall become
vital

vital principles of action and generally prevail, the salutary effects they will produce, both upon individuals and communities, will add evidence irresistible to the divine authority of the gospel; and, at the same time that they diffuse harmony and peace over every scene of social life, will enable us with grateful hearts to fix our hopes of happiness on a foundation, which the calamities and temptations incident to humanity will assail in vain.

It perhaps is in a great measure owing to an injudicious, and indeed preposterous method of inquiry into the doctrine of the scriptures, that the divine revelation, therein contained, hath been so partially acknowledged as the guide of human life.

It has been too much the practice of those members of the christian church, to whom the office of instruction has been delegated, to direct the attention of mankind to certain tenets of religion, which the authority of former ages, rather than the decisions of their unbiassed judgment, had taught them to respect as fundamental; to commence
their

their own researches with an assumption of their truth; and to employ their learned labours in what proved, very frequently, a vain attempt to establish their conformity to holy writ.

Such was the process of ancient philosophy in its unsuccessful efforts to unfold the laws of the visible creation; to explain the works of God.

A theory, or an hypothesis, framed by human fancy, anticipated what ought to have been the result of a laborious investigation into fact.

But when, ascending with steady step from each well-established observation, human industry reversed the former process, and the conclusion flowed from experiment as its only proper source, truth disclosed itself to the enraptured understanding in its genuine simplicity; and, the laws and ordinances stood revealed, which the great creator had imposed upon the larger masses of material being, when he constructed the stupendous fabric of the world.

Let similar wisdom direct our movements, and similar success may be expected, when,

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with that humility and patient attention, which should ever accompany such researches, our labours are employed in the investigation of religious truth.

The word of God, revealed in the scriptures of both Testaments, like the book of nature, lies open to us all; like the laws of nature, the doctrines of revelation may be conceived to be, at once, both simple and sublime; sufficient to affect the improved mind with wonder and delight, yet such as the most unlettered understanding may apprehend with facility, when the cloud of human prejudices, which has so long obscured the heavenly light of truth, shall be totally withdrawn.

The society presumes, that it will assist in the removal of these prejudices, and, at the same time, tend to inform the mind of the true believer with just and proper sentiments of the benevolence of the great creator, exhibited in the gospel, that last, best gift of God to man, if the friends to religious inquiry be invited sedulously to pursue, what may not unaptly be termed, the
“ analytic”

“analytic” mode of inquiry, into the genuine doctrines of the scriptures.

Instead of assuming a position, and attempting a demonstration of its truth, by authorities from scripture, which bears a resemblance to the “synthetic” method in philosophy, they would propose to invert the process, by previously establishing the genuine sense of those authorities, which may have been brought in evidence of the doctrine proposed.

An instance may assist in explaining their idea.

Let us suppose it was the design of a writer to treat upon the terms of a man’s final acceptance with the almighty.

Such writer would probably state his own opinion in definite terms; and, after attempting by argument to evince the absurdity of the contrary sentiment, would proceed to establish the justness of his own, by authorities from holy writ.

The advocate for the opposite opinion would probably proceed in a similar manner; he would attempt to establish its conformity to reason; and would endeavour to

refute the arguments of his opponent, appealing also, where he saw occasion, to authorities from scripture.

If both parties were agreed with respect to the import of these authorities, and fairly cited whatever in the original record related to the argument, the debate would soon be terminated. But the experience of ages bears testimony that the contrary is the fact: each party in the dispute controverting the interpretation imposed by his adversary, and, with pertinacity, adhering to his own.

The unedifying altercation is also frequently prolonged, by an imperfect recital of the passages, which are supposed to bear an immediate reference to the subject of debate; and, by a series of arguments, depending upon the sense of particular words and detached sentences; little or no attention being observed, in the quotation of these authorities, to the general import of the context.

In such circumstances, it is not wonderful that prejudice should alternately exert a forcible, though latent power, over the minds of the opponent parties, and that the
genuine

genuine doctrine of revelation should frequently elude the most laborious researches of them both.

Let us now suppose, that before the mind is warped in favour of any specific opinion, or warmed with controversy, we sit down to investigate the sense of a passage of scripture, with the same calm and composed temper, with which we examine a passage in a greek or roman classic, whose genuine sense we are studious to explore.

Unblinded by system, and exempt from every species of prejudice, we, without partiality, avail ourselves of all those lights of criticism, which the learned labours of others, as well as our own unbiaſſed judgment may afford ; and a clear conception of the one true meaning of the author soon rewards our toils.

Were this our invariable process in the exposition of the sacred page, a passage once elucidated and explained by those aids, which the present age enjoys in such superior measure, like a well-established experiment in philosophy, might be appealed to with confidence ; its recital would have the force of

legal evidence in the pleadings of the opponent parties ; and, it could no longer be employed in the support of those baseless fabrics of divinity, which have so frequently dishonoured the christian name.

We will now proceed more particularly to state that method of advancing scriptural knowledge, which we would wish to commend.

Let us suppose a portion of a prophet, an evangelist, or other sacred writer to be chosen, which contains an incident, an admonition, or an argument, in some measure detached from the subsequent and preceding parts of scripture. The twenty-second chapter of Genesis, from the first verse to the nineteenth inclusive ; the twenty-third chapter of Isaiah ; the seventeenth chapter of St. John's gospel ; the first ten verses of the thirteenth chapter of the epistle to the Romans ; the fifteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, may be proposed as specimens of such detached portions.

The commentator upon such passages would probably think it expedient, in the
first

first place, to inquire into those preceding incidents, and concomitant circumstances, of which it may appear necessary to form a just conception, before he enters upon an explanation of the purport of sentences and words.

Preliminaries being discussed, if any various readings worthy of attention should be noticed, the expositor may think it proper, by the means of those assistances, which Kennicott, Mill, Bengelius, or Wetstein may afford, to support the received reading, or establish such alteration in the text, as the rules of sound criticism shall suggest.

An accurate translation of the passage, with proper divisions into paragraphs or sentences, pointed with the utmost correctness possible, would greatly tend to the information and improvement of the learned, as well as the unlearned reader.

The exhibiting of a summary idea of the import of each paragraph, in a well-digested commentary, in the manner of bishop Hurd upon Horace's epistles to Augustus and the Piso's, would afford further assistance to the inquirer into scripture-truth; the

sense of each paragraph being confirmed by references to other parts of scripture, where the same or a similar subject is discussed.

Notes critical and philological, and explanatory of allusions to rites and customs, and historical facts, with such references to scripture, as tend to explain the peculiar phraseology, may follow next in order.

Lastly, such conclusions, doctrinal and moral, as appear of sufficient importance, and are deducible by just inference from the passage in question, may, with great advantage, close the work.

It may possibly be urged, that the same or a similar process has already been adopted by many commentators upon scripture.

But it is presumed, that it is one thing to write a continued commentary upon scripture; another, to comment upon a detached portion of scripture, in the manner which has now been hinted. In a general commentary, those preliminary circumstances, on which the just comprehension of the passage so much depends, would interfere with the execution of the author's purpose; who, instead of commenting upon separate passages, proceeds

proceeds in a regular tenor to comment upon vericles and words; the general import being, frequently, incompletely noticed, and, consequently, the vericles and words themselves imperfectly understood, if not erroneously explained.

Although it appears necessary, in explaining the intentions of the society, to delineate that form of composition, which they conceive would most effectually promote the knowledge of the scriptures; yet, it is by no means their intention to require a rigid conformity to any specific model, from their future correspondents. On the contrary, they will gladly admit such tracts, as proceed upon a less extensive plan, provided it be evidently the direct and primary intention of the author to elucidate the sacred text. Essays, written professedly in support of particular tenets and forms of doctrine, are liable to the objections stated in the preceding pages: but every communication of the friends of revelation, which tends to the advancement of scriptural knowledge, whether it affords an explanation of a rite or ceremony; of an allusion to the manners and principles of the
age;

age ; of a point of civil history, or, of a single sentence or expression contained in the bible, will be received with thankfulness, as intirely coinciding with their purpose.

The right of private judgment in religious concernments, and of worshipping the great creator as our reason and our conscience shall approve, cannot be invaded, upon any pretence whatever, without injury ; nor, without impiety, resigned. In a country, professedly christian, improvement in scriptural knowledge, with the consequent practice of every divine and social virtue, may be expected to flourish or decrease, in proportion as these rights are more or less extensively enjoyed. It is, therefore, the purpose also of the present institution to assist in the circulation of such tracts, as vindicate to every member of the community the enjoyment of these invaluable privileges, in their unlimited extent : the society being firmly persuaded, that to employ our noblest faculty upon its noblest object ; our powers of reason upon religion, is, at once, the unalienable right ; the highest praise ; and the primary obligation of man.

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In the prosecution of these designs, the laity and clergy of every denomination and description are immediately interested; and every pious person, according to the talent with which heaven hath intrusted him, however private may be his situation, may occasionally assist, either by his communications, or his support.

The business of the society will be transacted in the metropolis, in conformity to its rules and regulations; but much vigour and effect may be afforded to their labours by their distant members and other correspondents. By their concurring endeavours, the society will acquire stability and strength; and their attempts to illustrate the sacred writers be productive, it is hoped, of happy consequences to the general interests of truth and virtue.

Influenced by these motives, and not without hope of the general countenance and support of serious and liberal-minded christians, it is the intention of the society to publish such original papers, explanatory of the scriptures, and also in vindication of the right of free inquiry and of private judgment, correspondent to the scheme of
their

their institution, as shall be communicated and approved.

With the same views, it is another part of the design of the society, to reprint such tracts or papers, upon these important subjects, as shall be thought worthy of renewed attention ; and which, from the distance of the time of their original publication, or from the scarcity of the books wherein they are to be found, may escape the notice of persons who would principally be benefited by them.

In both cases, however, they propose, invariably to abide by the specific description of their plan, contained in the form of institution.*

It is recommended to those who may be disposed to transmit any papers to the society, and, at the same time, inclined to withhold their names from the public, to adopt some signature sufficiently distinguishing, according as their own discretion shall suggest.

In

[* The form of the society's institution is as follows.

Essex-house, Monday Sept. 29, 1783.

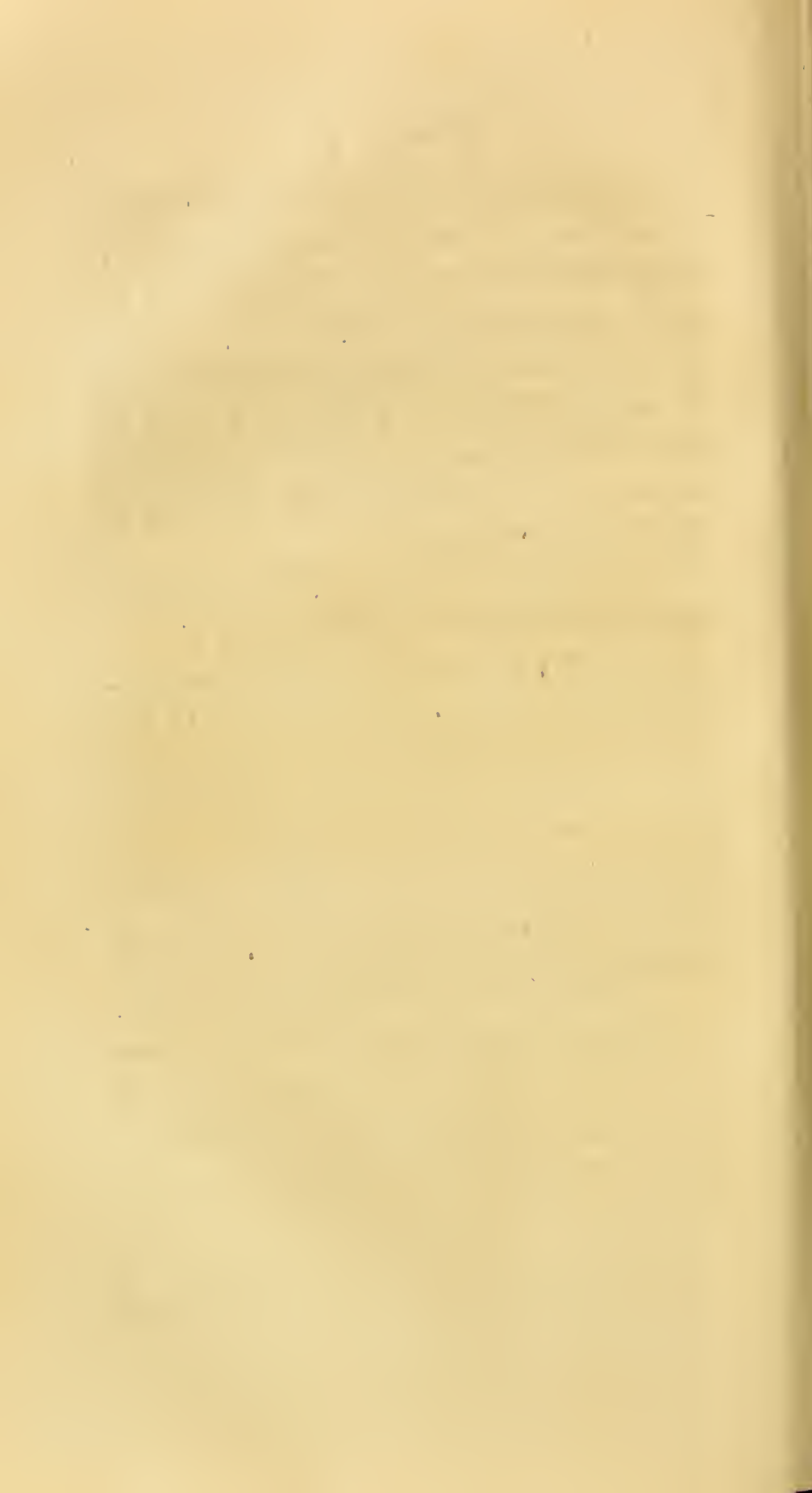
“ IT appears to the persons here present, that a SOCIETY, instituted FOR PROMOTING THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE SCRIPTURES, would be very seasonable at this time, and answer many valuable and excellent purposes.

In

In the mode of publication, the society do not intend to confine themselves to time, or quantity of letter-press, as is the case in regular periodical publications ; but to publish, occasionally, in successive numbers, and at irregular intervals, such papers as shall have been approved ; without observing any other order or preference than the time of their communication.

The expense of printing will be defrayed by the society, and their publications will be circulated by the members in such manner, as each shall judge most conducive to the success of the society's design. In aid, however, of this part of their plan, which might otherwise be limited in its operation, they purpose to comply with the ordinary method observed in literary publications, and to direct their papers to be sold by their bookseller.

In consequence of such persuasion, 'We, whose names are underwritten, do accordingly constitute ourselves A Society for maintaining the right of free inquiry and of private judgment in religious matters ; and for receiving and circulating critical and philological tracts, explanatory of the books of the old and new Testament.'"]



R E M A R K S
UPON THE
PRESENT MODE OF EDUCATION
IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE:
TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A PROPOSAL FOR ITS IMPROVEMENT.

FIRST PUBLISHED MDCCLXXII.
NOW RE-PRINTED
FROM THE FOURTH EDITION,
MDCCLXXIV.

TO
HIS GRACE
AUGUSTUS-HENRY DUKE OF GRAFTON;
CHANCELLOR,
AND TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
PHILIP EARL OF HARDWICKE,
HIGH-STEWARD,
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,
THE FOLLOWING
REMARKS
ARE,
WITH ALL RESPECT AND DEFERENCE,
INSCRIBED
BY THE AUTHOR.

Ἐπιζήμιος δὲ τινος τίνα δὲι μὲνθαίνειν τὰς παύδας, ταυτὰ
εἶπεν [Ἀγισίλαος] οἷς καὶ ἀνδρες γενομένοι χρησούται.

PLUTARCH. Apophthegm. Lacon.

“ I call, therefore, a complete and generous education, that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously, all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war.”

MILTON.

MY intention, in this little tract, is, to offer my sentiments upon the course of study, prescribed to the candidate for the first degree in arts by the custom of our university; and to suggest, what appears to me, a practicable scheme for its improvement.

In the prosecution of my purpose, I do not think it necessary to begin with developing the primary design of our ancestors in academical foundations; nor shall I trespass upon my reader's patience by an inquiry, how far change of circumstances, and seasons, may convey to us a right of departing from the traditionary forms of education, in these seats of literature: I shall suppose, according to the general idea, that they ought to be considered as seminaries for the information of youth in those studies, which have a tendency to fit them for the various scenes of social life; and shall therefore conclude, if the plan, at present pursued in our universities, should, upon due consideration, appear to be materially defective, that there is, somewhere or other,

lodged a power of introducing such regulations, as may enable them more fully to answer the primary purposes of their establishment.

Whether the emendation, proposed in the following pages, be expedient in our present circumstances, is the question, which is now, with all humility, submitted to the judgment of the public; and this upon the presumption, that the public is interested in its decision. It is only requested, that, if any sentiments occur in the progress of my argument, which shall be thought offensive, it may be attentively and dispassionately considered, whether they are not justly founded, and whether they do not immediately arise from the nature of the subject now before us.

The discharge of my duty in the office of moderator, to which I was five times called by the voice of the university, together with my engagements as a tutor, for the space of more than fifteen years, have been the occasion of my affording a more than ordinary degree of attention to the various parts of our academical course; and, therefore, I trust,

I may

I may presume so far upon my knowledge of our form of literary discipline, and my acquaintance with the movements of the youthful mind, as to hint, what appears to me exceptionable in our present system of education, and to suggest the model of an institution, in my idea, approaching nearer to perfection. In the discussion of this question, the voice of calumny, the effusions of illiberal resentment, shall pass unnoticed. But if the objections, which may possibly be urged against the offered scheme of improvement, shall be proposed in the spirit of candour, they shall be replied to in the same spirit. Possessing a voice in the legislature of our little republic, I have an undoubted right to offer to its consideration, whatever I may think will be conducive to our honour and advantage. But, I shall conduct myself in the sequel, as a person who considers, that, although some alterations may be necessary, his own particular mode of effecting them may not be the most eligible ; and, therefore, if it be rejected, I will endeavour to enjoy, in tranquility, the satisfaction arising from the consciousness of

good intentions; a satisfaction, which is neither impaired by a miscarriage, nor enhanced by success.

It has frequently been objected to us, that, of late years, there hath been an enormous increase in the expenses of academical education. I shall not inquire, how far this evil is to be imputed to the conduct of the parent, or the guardian: I shall only observe, that if this extravagance, and consequent licentiousness of manners, in any degree arises from our own error or inattention, both our honour and our interest are concerned in restraining them.

Many persons of great character and real worth, who have also manifested a tender regard for the interests of our university, have often hinted, that it is become absolutely necessary for us to exert ourselves with more than ordinary zeal, in the present alarming crisis of national manners. And it is a truth too melancholy to be insisted on, that a licentious and infidel spirit, diffusing itself from the metropolis as its center, at length hath penetrated these retirements; and hath produced appearances, peculiarly unbe-

unbecoming a place, set apart for the purposes of learning and religious education.

It hath also been suggested, that it is only by the severity of our discipline we can hope to effect a removal of evils, which seem to threaten our destruction. I am, from my heart, disposed to look with approbation upon every ordinance, which has a tendency to produce a decent and regular deportment: but, if I conjecture right, that truly portentous dissipation, which does us such discredit in the estimation of the serious part of mankind, arises not so much from a relaxation of discipline, as from the denial of indulgence to a virtuous affection of the soul, formerly cultivated with the most assiduous care, and honoured in the institutions of the wisest states, as a passion, productive of the most salutary consequences to the public welfare.

Schemes of discipline, planned with wisdom, and steadily supported, may possibly restore to us a portion of our former reputation. But, when I reflect upon the particular nature of those corruptions which mark the manners of the present times, I

own I am inclined to prefer that mode of reformation, which gently leads the minds of youth from the pursuit of each inferior gratification, by proposing to their view such objects as are truly deserving of their attention; which, at the same time that it prevents the commission of vice, by diminishing the number and efficacy of its temptations, rouses to the practice of every manly virtue, by the animating prospect of reward.

The time of life, when the powers of reason are approaching to their maturity, should unquestionably be chosen, as the proper season for instilling those principles of virtue, learning, and religion, which are most likely to render us useful to our country, and happy in ourselves.

At this period, the spirit of EMULATION is found in greatest force: it constitutes a motive, more generous than the selfish, sensual passions, which, according to the usual course of nature, prevail in earlier life; but less exalted than that fervent love of human kind, which is intended by the author of
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our being to be the incentive in maturer age.

It has frequently been observed, that the affections of the human mind rise by a necessary progress, in beautiful succession, each being introductory to affections of a nobler kind; that each has its limited time of acting; that it is our wisdom to convert them to their noblest objects; and that if, in particular, the season, when the emulative affections most prevail, should be neglected, it will be in vain that we afterwards endeavour to impress the mind with the ardour of improvement, or to stamp it with the image of each sterling virtue.

A system of education, therefore, cannot be complete, in which the spirit of emulation is either partially indulged, or improperly directed.

But, in the university of Cambridge, a great part of the students have no opportunity of exerting their abilities, under the influence of this generous passion. And, in those instances wherein it is suffered to manifest its power, its force is expended in the acquisition of a species of learning, which,
however

however excellent in many respects, certainly has not a reasonable claim to the distinguished privileges, which it enjoys at present in this seat of literature ; inasmuch as it neither prepares our students for a creditable entrance upon those particular professions, to which the highest honours and emoluments are annexed in civil life ; nor tends immediately to fit them for a general commerce with the world.

Let us, for instance, inquire what field is allowed for its exertion, in the case of candidates for the first degree in arts.

The solicitude, previous to an examination for the bachelor's degree, and the joy, consequent upon passing through it with success, evidently demonstrate, that an uncommon ardour of emulation actuates the breast of each aspirant to those honourable distinctions, which the university then bestows upon her most approved sons.

But, even in this case, the object of pursuit is removed at too great a distance from the time of admission, for the emulative principle to act uniformly.

Experience shews, that the most dangerous

rous temptations await the youth at his first entrance upon academical life. And common sense seems to dictate, that at this time we should, with peculiar care, endeavour to confirm the habits of application, gained in each inferior seminary, by a more extensive exercise of the emulative affections, and trials of a more important kind. Yet, strange as it must appear to every person, who affords the matter a moment's consideration, no evidence is required of the student's proficiency in the course prescribed by the custom of the university, until the time of his appearance as a disputant in the public schools.

Hence, the first years of residence are too generally spent in indolence, or extravagance; the last in an obstinate course of labours, which enfeeble the mental powers of the student, at the same time that they have not unfrequently been known to be destructive to his health.

From hence also we may account for the slender improvements, made in each branch of science by those numerous students, who, for various reasons, do not find it expedient

to

to continue their residence among us till the usual time of commencing bachelors of arts.

As no proper pursuits are, in this case, proposed to youthful emulation, the active imagination is unavoidably led to employ itself in the search of less worthy gratifications; and hence that ardour of excelling, which in the pensioner exerts itself in the investigation of philosophic truth, disposes the fellow-commoner to aim at distinguishing himself in every fashionable mode of dissipation. This is an evil the more to be lamented, as the superiority of fortune, in that order of our students, would render their literary attainments more extensively beneficial to their country. And, indeed, it is often among themselves considered as a matter of complaint, that, by the present constitution of the university, they are in a manner excluded from all opportunity of displaying their talents in common with their associates; talents, which, improved by culture in the seat of the muses, might hereafter render them eminently useful in the more important scenes of social life.

Nor

Nor is the partiality, afforded to one particular branch of study by the custom of the university, less reprehensible; whether we consider academical education as initiatory into the studies of any particular profession, or as preparatory to a more enlarged intercourse with mankind.

I am duly sensible of the many good consequences, which are derived from a moderate attention to the prevailing studies of this place: they give strength and solidity to the judgment, and call forth those inventive powers, which, in after life, may be successfully applied to the investigation of elegant and useful problems in every valuable art. The knowledge of nature, and of her laws, is, in a peculiar manner, suited to the ever inquisitive mind of man; and, by the variety and extensive magnificence of the views which it affords us, tends to the abolition of those narrow prejudices, and confined principles, which, at the same time that they forbid us to elevate our thoughts to the good of nations, and of late posterity, very powerfully obstruct the progress of our
under-

understandings to that perfection, for which they were originally designed.

Yet surely the study of the mathematics, and of nature's operations, should not intirely engross the youthful mind.* Inquiry into metaphysical and moral truth, is accompanied with numerous advantages; and tends to produce those fruits in public and in private life, to which we assign the names of the most honourable virtues that can dignify or ornament our kind.

It is to the finished compositions of Greece and Rome, that the student must direct his view, if he wishes to excel in just sentiment, and expressive diction; yet, excepting the encouragements given by the chancellor,
and

* The late institution of Dr. Smith, were every other incentive to be withdrawn, would supply sufficient inducements to the study of the more recondite parts of mathematics and philosophy. However, it is no part of the author's design, to discourage general improvement in these branches of sound and useful learning; but rather, by proposing them as the objects of an earlier attention, to render their principles more accurately understood, and, consequently, the studies themselves more extensively useful to his countrymen.

and university members, classical merit is altogether disregarded.*

The study of history also, that pleasing monitor, which, as it instructs us in the errors

* It hath been objected, that the expression, made use of in this place, is stronger than the real circumstances of the case will warrant; and that the Craven scholarships, together with the præmiums given in some private societies, afford a sufficient encouragement to the youth, who are ambitious of being distinguished by the lustre of their classical attainments. But it is requested, that the gentlemen, who think that there is any weight in these observations, would reflect, that the said scholarships are only two in number; that the same persons may enjoy them for the term of fourteen years; and, therefore, on account of the unfrequency of the election, that they cannot possibly be considered as forming any very powerful incentive to youthful emulation. However, as it must be allowed, that from the time of their institution, they have been invariably the rewards of classical merit, I will freely acknowledge that they ought to have been mentioned among its encouragements. “Valeant, quantum valere possunt.”

With respect to the encouragements in private colleges, they are altogether out of the question. The intent of the present publication is to shew the expediency, and even the necessity, of introducing a more perfect mode of education into the university at large; to point out the advantages of diffusing the spirit of emulation among

errors of the past, affords us the most important documents for the conduct of succeeding ages, is not sufficiently encouraged. The study of elocution, that graceful, manly, accomplishment, which is so necessary to complete the character of the lawyer, the senator, and the divine, is utterly neglected. And, to sum up the matter of complaint in few

among all orders of our youth ; and to recommend each branch of useful science, each valuable art, each division of politer literature, as the objects of their animated pursuit. In the prosecution of my purpose, it would have been impertinent to have taken notice of those partial institutions, which have been adopted by some particular communities, with a view of obviating the fundamental imperfections in our academical course ; as the natural effects of such schemes of improvement must always be counteracted, and, in most instances, intirely overborn, by the far superior influence of those honorary distinctions, which the university holds forth as incentives to philosophical inquiry.

I am heartily disposed to allow to every effort towards reformation, its proper portion of praise. And it is with pleasure I acknowledge, that the ardour, with which the worthy tutors of Trinity, St. John's, Queen's, Caius, and Christ's colleges, have endeavoured to introduce the study of the greek Testament into their respective societies, entitles them to the thanks of each conscientious parent, and the applause of every liberal mind.

few words, almost every valuable attainment is defrauded of its proper portion of praise ; while those honorary distinctions, which ought to be the rewards of successful labours in every branch of useful literature, and which, if judiciously distributed, would fix the fervent attention of youth to each important object of pursuit, are, at present, dispensed, with a culpable partiality, in favour of the proficients in one particular division of the sciences. The consequences are such, as might naturally be expected to take place : the academic changes the seat of his residence for scenes, which demand accomplishments of a different nature from those, to which glory and profit are annexed within the walls of Cambridge ; his acquisitions appear unimportant in the eyes of his fellow-citizens ; and he, therefore, either resigns himself to despondency, or seeks for happiness in the gratifications of a dissipated life.

It may possibly be answered, that the studies, which I now recommend, are already attended to in public, and in private lectures. I acknowledge it with pleasure. And, were I disposed to speak disrespectfully

II. T of

of the labours of the many worthy and ingenious gentlemen, who now adorn this place, the public and undeniable evidences they have afforded of assiduity; in the discharge of their respective functions, would sufficiently refute my calumny. The circumstances, which attended the recent institution of a course of lectures upon modern history, reflect honour upon the present professor :* and, if we may be allowed to conjecture of the manner of the execution, from the animated expressions of approbation in the audience, we may venture to predict, that very beneficial consequences will hereafter be derived to the community, from an establishment, which is wisely calculated to animate each noble and ingenious pupil, to a vigorous display of every useful talent, upon the extensive theatre of public life. With respect to other cases, wherein I may be allowed to commend with less appearance of presumption, I can truly say, that I have the honour of being acquainted with several gentlemen, who discharge with credit, each part of their important trust. But something

[* John Symonds, LL.D. professor of modern history in the university of Cambridge.]

thing more than the capacity and fidelity of the tutor is generally required in order to the improvement of the pupil: and that something, the inexhaustible fund of HONOUR would effectually supply.

It may also be urged, that there is no necessity for engaging the university in any scheme of alteration, as the plan, pursued by the master of St. John's college, may be adopted in every other society. Most highly do I respect Dr. Powell's character, with regard to his conduct in that department, which he fills with so much honour to himself, and advantage to the public; but his method cannot conveniently be admitted into smaller societies: and, even within his own, it has been observed, that the emulation of youth, for want of a wider range, too often produces passions of a more malignant kind.*

T 2

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* It gives me pain to hear, that some expressions in this paragraph, in which I meant to pay a proper compliment to Dr. Powell, on account of his assiduity in the discharge of his function, as head of an house, have been understood in a sense very different from what I intended. The doctor hath confessedly effected the establishment of examinations within the walls of his own college;

To exhibit the form of an institution, which, according to the enlarged and elevated conception of Milton, is calculated “to fit a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously, all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war,” exceeds the limits of my design. And perhaps the difficulties, attending the establishment of such a system, were even a Bacon to propose one, would be really unsurmountable.

When circumstances, however, seem to render it necessary to attempt an emendation, it is not creditable to decline all efforts to effect it, because the attainment of perfection is placed beyond our power. A re-
formation

college; and the fact was mentioned by me to his praise. If an institution, highly beneficial in the main, has been attended with one bad consequence, which no art, or foresight, could prevent, such failure is to be considered as his misfortune, not his fault; and should incline him cordially to co-operate in support of a proposal, not liable to such an inconvenience; a proposal, which, if carried into execution, would probably be the source of numerous advantages to every other society, at the same time, that, from his compliance, no substantial injury, but rather an increase of honour, would be derived to his own:

formation of the most material errors in our practice, may prepare the way for more desirable improvements. And, as it is incumbent upon every citizen to contribute whatever may lie in his power to the advancement of the public welfare, I have thought it my duty to propose the following measures to the consideration of those persons, in whom, according to my idea, the power of altering and improving our academical institutions is vested; and, I trust, they are such as will, upon due examination, appear to be both practicable and expedient.

I. Let an examination of all the undergraduates, ranged according to their standing in the university, be annually held in the senate-house, in the May term, a little before the time of its division.

II. Let the subject-matter of this examination be the law of nature and of nations, chronology, history, classics, mathematics, metaphysics, and philosophy natural and moral; and let no person in “*statu pupillari*” be permitted to plead his order, as an exemption from attending it.

T 3

III. Let

III. Let the classic authors, and portions of history, which shall appear most deserving of academical attention, be previously settled by those persons, whom the university shall delegate for this purpose; and publicly given out each year, as the course prescribed for examination in the year which follows; and let honorary rewards be dispensed to those students, who shall distinguish themselves in each division.

IV. Let the particular portions of mathematics and natural philosophy, which are intended to be the subject of each examination, be limited with precision; with a view of reducing, within due bounds, the application to a study, which, however useful, has of late engrossed too much of the attention of the student.

V. In order the more powerfully to invite our academical youth to aim at excelling in latin or english composition, let the donation of books of the most elegant editions, in which are inserted engraved impressions of the arms of the university, and inscriptions suitable to the occasion, be super-added to those merely honorary distinctions, which
the

the university shall propose as inducements to literary improvement.

VI. Let not the members of that royal foundation, which has always been conspicuously eminent with respect to classical merit, any longer be deprived of an opportunity of distinguishing themselves by the display of every valuable attainment.

VII. And, in the examination, preceding that for the degree of bachelor in arts, let not improvements in sacred literature remain without their share of praise.*

T 4

It

* The importance of the subject requires, that I should explain myself upon this point more particularly.

It formerly was the custom for the tutors, in every college in the university, to give, weekly, theological lectures to the students under their care. Through what means, or for what reasons, this laudable practice came to be discontinued at many of the colleges, I have never been able to discover. It is a fact, that although the reasonableness of the measure, and the circumstances of the times, call aloud for its revival, it does not at present universally prevail.

These lectures, I am informed, were attended by all the resident students without any exception. They certainly conduced to keep alive, in the breasts of youth, that sense of religion, which had been instilled in the
earlier

It is not intended that this course should, in any respect, interfere with the statutable exercises

earlier seasons of instruction; and which, it may be presumed, formed their best security, against the numerous temptations they were exposed to in academic life.

But, as, at this inexperienced age, the judgment is not sufficiently matured to enter upon the discussion of points of religious controversy, it may not be advisable to require any great degree of proficiency in sacred literature, at these times of public trial.

If the candidate appears to be tolerably well versed in the four gospels, according to the original, and can pass an examination in Grotius de Veritate religionis christianæ, he might be esteemed sufficiently instituted in theological studies for his first degree.

But, as many students in our universities are sent thither, in order to be properly qualified for the ministerial functions, it may be urged, that there is a necessity, in their case, for a greater degree of application, and an attendance upon a more formal institution.

It will be readily acknowledged, that a continual course of daily lectures in theology, for the term of two months complete, will scarcely be sufficient for this purpose.

And, therefore, as the most suitable season for such instruction appears to be that, which is immediately subsequent to the bachelor's commencement, it is much to be lamented, that some provision is not made for such an institution; and such encouragements proposed, as may be an inducement with our students to prolong their residence at college, for the purpose of improvement in a science, of the highest concernment to the public and themselves.

exercifes of the univerfity: nor that it fhould fuperfede, but rather be preparatory to, the more important examination for the bachelor's degree.

It is propofed, that the firft annual examination fhould take place in the May term 1774: but that it fhould comprehend only thofe gentlemen, who fhall be admitted during the courfe of the prefent year. However, if it fhould even be thought expedient to call the emulation of youth, now refident in the univerfity, to thofe manly purfuits, which tend to prepare them for an honourable difplay of their talents in each active fcene; there is every reason to fuppose, that their native candour, and ingenuous manners, would induce them cheerfully to concur with the endeavours of their fuperiors, in effecting fo defirable an end.

I might further obferve, in favour of fuch a fcheme as I have now recommended, that it would afford inducements to gentlemen of longer ftanding, to devote themfelves, with increafing application, to fuch parts of literature, as may be eminently beneficial to them in their profeflion as divines. But I
 refcrve

reserve what I have further to urge upon this subject, until I am made acquainted with the objections, that may be advanced against the proposed establishment. In the mean time, I will, with pleasure, communicate with any academical gentleman, upon the proper measures to be pursued, in order to the institution of ANNUAL EXAMINATIONS; and I shall think myself happy, if these observations upon the defects in our present course of education, shall suggest any useful hints to those, who may have more influence than myself in promoting a reform.

A P P E N D I X.

IF it should appear expedient to the senate to pass a grace, for the establishment of annual examinations, it is proposed, that all students of the present year should attend,

The first examination in May 1774;

The second examination in May 1775;

The third examination in May 1776;

The

The fourth examination, for the degree of bachelor in arts, in January 1777.

As a mode of procedure, similar to one already established, may appear more feasible, than one constructed upon a plan intirely new, it may be advisable to render the process, as near as possible, conformable to the examination at the time of the bachelor's degree.

And, therefore, it is proposed,

I. That six public examiners be annually appointed * by the university, with power finally to determine concerning the honorary rewards, in those divisions of the students, which shall be consigned to their management.

II. That the students of the three years be ranged in three distinct divisions, in the senate-house.

III. That the examiners, seated at separate tables in the public library, examine the students of the respective years, in divisions

* As, according to this scheme, the examination of 1774 will only comprehend the students of a single year, no more than two examiners must be appointed for that year; four for the next; and the full complement of six, in each succeeding year.

sions of six, eight, or ten, according to the method practised in the questionists' examination.

IV. That all regents and non-regents, whether doctors or masters, be permitted to send for single students, (when not actually engaged with the public examiners,) and to examine them in the prescribed course of the year, either in the senate-house or public library, as they shall judge convenient.

V. That the examination last three days; and that the time of attendance of the students in the senate-house be from nine till twelve in the forenoon, and from three to six in the afternoon.

IT has been hinted to the author by some persons, whose judgment he reveres, that a short account of our academical exercises, together with a delineation of our process in that examination, which is proposed as the model of the projected establishment, would probably be acceptable to many,

many, who are unacquainted with our present forms. In compliance, therefore, with their suggestions, he subjoins the following representation of that part of our literary discipline, which is preparatory to the conferring of the first degree in arts.

IN the beginning of the month of January, one of the proctor's servants goes round to every college in the university, (Trinity-hall and King's college excepted) and requires a list of the students, who, in the subsequent January, intend to offer themselves as candidates for the bachelor's degree.

The names of the students, being thus collected, are delivered to one of the two moderators, who transcribes them into a book, for purposes, which will be presently explained.

These moderators are annually chosen upon the tenth of October. Their proper office is to preside, alternately, at the public exercises of the students; and to examine them, at the time of their offering themselves for their degree.

These

These public exercises are held in the afternoon, for five days in the week during term time; the moderator appearing a little before two, and frequently continuing in the schools till the clock strikes four.

Upon the first Monday after the commencement of the January term, the moderator, whose turn it is to preside, gives written notice to one of the students in his list, that it is his pleasure he should appear in the schools, as a disputant, on that day fortnight.

This person, who is now called the “respondent,” in a few hours after he has received the summons, waits upon the moderator with three propositions or questions; the truth of which he is to maintain against the objections of any three students of the same year, whom the moderator shall think proper to nominate, and who on this occasion are called “opponents.”

The questions, proposed by the respondent, are written upon four separate papers, according to a form, of which the following is a specimen:

Q. S. “Planetæ

Q. S.

“ Planetæ primarii retinèntur in orbitis suis vi gravitatis, et motu projectili.

“ Iridis primariæ et secundariæ phænomena solvi possunt ex principiis opticis.

“ Non licet magistratui civem morti tradere nisi ob crimen homicidii.

“ ———Resp. Jan. 10^{mo}.”

At the bottom of three of these papers, the moderator writes the name of a student, whom he thinks capable of opposing the questions of the respondent, with the words, “ Opponentium primus, secundus, or tertius,” denoting the order, in which the opponents are to appear.

One of these papers is sent to each opponent; and from that which remains, the moderator, at his leisure, transcribes the questions, together with the names of the respondent and opponents into his book.

When one moderator has thus given out the exercise for a week, he sends the book to the other, who proceeds according to the
same

same method, and then returns the book to his colleague.

The fortnight for preparation being expired, the respondent appears in the schools: he ascends the rostrum, and reads a latin dissertation, (called with us a "thesis") upon any one of the three questions he thinks proper; the moderator attending in his place.

As soon as the respondent has finished his thesis, which generally takes ten or fifteen minutes in the reading, the moderator calls upon the first opponent to appear. He immediately ascends a rostrum opposite to the respondent, and proposes his "arguments" against the questions in syllogistical form.

Eight arguments, each consisting of three or four syllogisms, are brought up by the first opponent, five by the second, and three by the third.

When the exercise has for some time been carried on according to the strict rules of logic, the disputation insensibly slides into free and unconfined debate: the moderator, in the mean time, explaining the argument of the opponent, when necessary; restrain-
ing

ing both parties from wandering from the subject; and frequently adding, at the close of each argument, his own determination upon the point in dispute.

These exercises are improving; are generally well attended; and, consequently, are often performed with great spirit. But many persons of good judgment, observing, with pain, the unclassical latin, generally uttered by the student upon these occasions, have maintained, that the knowledge of that language is not promoted by the present method of disputation; and have delivered it as their opinion, that these exercises should be held in english, in order to their absolute perfection.

The three opponents, having, in their turns, exhausted their whole stock of arguments, are dismissed by the moderator in their order, with such a compliment, as in his estimation they deserve: and the exercise closes with the dismissal of the respondent in a similar manner.

The moderator, upon his return to his chambers, records the merits of the disputa-

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tants by marks, set opposite to their respective names.

This exercise, with the preparations for the subsequent examination in January, appears to be sufficient employment for the last year. And the apprehension of it is so alarming, that the student, after two years and a quarter's residence, during which time no proof whatever of his proficiency is required, frequently seeks to avoid the difficulty or disgrace, by commencing fellow-commoner, or, by declaring his intention of proceeding in civil law.

These exercises being duly performed, the vice-chancellor appoints three days, in the beginning of the January term, for the examination of the "questionists:" this being the appellation of the students, during the last six weeks of their preparation.

The moderators, some days before the arrival of the time prescribed by the vice-chancellor, meet for the purpose of forming the students into divisions of six, eight, or ten, according to their performance in the schools, with a view to the ensuing examination.

Upon

Upon the first of the appointed days, at eight o'clock in the morning, the students enter the senate-house, preceded by a master of arts from each college, who, on this occasion, is called the "father" of the college to which he belongs.

After the proctors have called over the names, each of the moderators sends for a division of the students: they sit with him round a table, with pens, ink, and paper, before them: he enters upon his task of examination, and does not dismiss the set till the hour is expired. This examination has now for some years been held in the english language.

The examination is varied according to the abilities of the students. The moderator generally begins with proposing some questions from the six books of Euclid, plain trigonometry, and the first rules of algebra. If any person fails in an answer, the question goes to the next. From the elements of mathematics, a transition is made to the four branches of philosophy, viz. mechanics, hydrostatics, apparent astronomy, and optics, as explained in the works

of Maclaurin, Cotes, Hellsam, Hamilton, Rutherforth, Keill, Long, Ferguson, and Smith. If the moderator finds the set of questionists, under examination, capable of answering him, he proceeds to the eleventh and twelfth books of Euclid, conic sections, spherical trigonometry, the higher parts of algebra, and sir Isaac Newton's Principia; more particularly those sections, which treat of the motion of bodies in eccentric and revolving orbits; the mutual action of spheres, composed of particles attracting each other according to various laws; the theory of pulses, propagated through elastic mediums; and the stupendous fabric of the world. Having closed the philosophical examination, he sometimes asks a few questions in Locke's Essay on the human understanding, Butler's Analogy, or Clarke's Attributes. But as the highest academical distinctions are invariably given to the best proficient in mathematics and natural philosophy, a very superficial knowledge in morality and metaphysics will suffice.

When the division under examination is one of the higher classes, problems are also
proposed,

proposed, with which the student retires to a distant part of the senate-house, and returns, with his solution upon paper, to the moderator, who, at his leisure, compares it with the solutions of other students, to whom the same problems have been proposed.

The extraction of roots, the arithmetic of surds, the invention of dividers, the resolution of quadratic, cubic, and biquadratic equations ; together with the doctrine of fluxions, and its application to the solution of questions “ de maximis et minimis,” to the finding of areas, to the rectification of curves, the investigation of the centers of gravity and oscillation, and to the circumstances of bodies, agitated, according to various laws, by centripetal forces, as unfolded, and exemplified, in the fluxional treatises of Lyons, Saunderson, Simpson, Emerson, Maclaurin, and Newton, generally form the subject matter of these problems.

When the clock strikes nine, the questionists are dismissed to breakfast: they return at half past nine, and stay till eleven; they go in again at half past one, and stay

till three; and, lastly, they return at half past three, and stay till five.

The hours of attendance are the same upon the subsequent day.

On the third day they are finally dismissed at eleven.

During the hours of attendance, every division is twice examined in form, once by each of the moderators, who are engaged for the whole time in this employment.

As the questionists are examined in divisions of only six or eight at a time, but a small portion of the whole number is engaged, at any particular hour, with the moderators; and, therefore, if there were no further examination, much time would remain unemployed.

But the moderator's inquiry into the merits of the candidates forms the least material part of the examination.

The "fathers" of the respective colleges, zealous for the credit of the societies, of which they are the guardians, are incessantly employed in examining those students, who appear most likely to contest the palm of glory with their sons.

This

This part of the process is as follows :

The father of a college takes the student of a different college aside, and, sometimes for an hour and an half together, strictly examines him in every part of mathematics and philosophy, which he professes to have read.

After he hath, from this examination, formed an accurate idea of the student's abilities and acquired knowledge, he makes a report of his absolute or comparative merit to the moderators, and to every other father who shall ask him the question.

Besides the fathers, all masters of arts, and doctors, of whatever faculty they be, have the liberty of examining whom they please ; and they also report the event of each trial, to every person who shall make the inquiry.

The moderators and fathers meet at breakfast, and at dinner. From the variety of reports, taken in connection with their own examination, the former are enabled, about the close of the second day, so far to settle the comparative merits of the candidates, as to agree upon the names of four-

and-twenty, who to them appear most deserving of being distinguished by marks of academical approbation.

These four-and-twenty are recommended to the proctors for their private examination; and, if approved by them, and no reason appears against such placing of them from any subsequent inquiry, their names are set down in two divisions, according to that order, in which they deserve to stand; are afterwards printed; and read over upon a solemn day, in the presence of the vice-chancellor, and of the assembled university.

The names of the twelve, who, in the course of the examination, appear next in desert, are also printed, and are read over, in the presence of the vice-chancellor, and of the assembled university, upon a day subsequent to the former.

Four additional names are generally inserted in the former list, (which is called the list of the wranglers, and senior optime's,) at the discretion of the vice-chancellor, two proctors, and the senior regent; and the numbers are sometimes varied, from a regard to accidental circumstances. In the
latter

latter list, or that of junior optime's, the number of twelve is almost constantly adhered to.

It is to be observed, that no student can be a candidate for the medals, annually given by the chancellor, for the encouragement of classical learning, unless his name appears in the former of these lists.

The students, who appear to have merited neither praise nor censure, pass unnoticed : while those, who have taken no pains to prepare themselves for the examination, and have appeared with discredit in the schools, are distinguished by particular tokens of disgrace.

The advantages, attendant upon this mode of examination, are so obvious, that this account of it needs no comment. It is only to be lamented, that merit in mathematics and philosophy should be rewarded, so much to the exclusion of every other kind of literary improvement.

It may not be improper to add, that the fellow-commoners (who are much favoured with respect to impositions, consequent upon non-attendance at chapel, and enjoy many other

other extraordinary privileges) are released, for what reason I cannot say, from the obligation of appearing as disputants in the public schools : an obligation, to which candidates of the inferior orders are compelled to submit. However, as every person, about to be admitted to a degree, takes an oath, that he has performed all the exercises, required by the statutes of the university, a mock process is instituted to save those, who have either performed no exercise at all, or have not performed their full quota, in the regular way, from the guilt of being forsworn. The statute directs, that every candidate for the degree of bachelor in arts, shall, at the time of his offering himself for such degree, have kept two acts and two opponencies. All these the fellow-commoner generally dispatches, upon the day of admission to his degree, in the space of ten minutes ; reading in that time two theses, and answering sixteen arguments against six questions ; hearing also two theses, and proposing, at the least, eight arguments against six questions in his turn. From the precipitation with which the candidate reads his theses,

theses, answers and proposes arguments, the whole of this ceremony is very expressively denominated, “ huddling for a degree.”

Many attempts have, from time to time, been made by the moderators, to remove the present imperfections in our course; but the event hath shewn, that the evil in question can be remedied only by the exertion of a superior authority.

In the college of Dublin, of which I had the honour of being a member for near two years, quarterly examinations have long been established; and the uncontroverted success of the institution in that famous seminary, will, it is hoped, be an additional inducement with every friend of learning, to exert himself with vigour, that, if possible, an institution of a similar nature may be adopted in each sister university.

It is with pleasure I acknowledge, that the emendation proposed in these pages, (which I have at different times, in the course of many years, most earnestly recommended to several of the heads of houses, and tutors in the university,) was suggested to me by the recollection of the advantages,
derived

derived from the Dublin method of procedure. And I was not a little confirmed in my persuasion of the utility of the institution in question, in consequence of my subsequent observation of the good effects of those half-yearly examinations, which Dr. Powell, highly to his credit, hath introduced into that society, over which he so worthily presides.

P O S T S C R I P T.

As the preceding proposal, for the establishment of annual examinations, was honoured, upon its first appearance, with the approbation of some of the heads of houses, and of a very considerable number of the public tutors, and other members of the university; it may not be improper to offer some further considerations, upon the mode of appointing the examiners; the stipend to be allowed them by the university; and the powers, with which it may be expedient to intrust them.

With respect to the mode of electing the examiners,

examiners, it appears most reasonable to conform to the cycle, already established for the appointment of the proctors.

If the additional public officers, chosen for the purpose of annual examinations, were to be only two in number, there would be no difficulty in settling the manner of their election. But, as, after the two first years, six examiners must be annually appointed, it will be necessary that I should explain myself more particularly upon this subject.

Upon inspection into the established cycle, it appears, that the colleges, with which it begins, are St. John's and Queen's. I would therefore propose, that two gentlemen, one nominated by each of these societies, should be chosen to preside in May, 1774, at the examination of the students of the present year.

The colleges, next in rotation, are Christ's and Peterhouse. But, as the examination, to be holden in May, 1775, will comprehend the students of two years, King's college and Clare-hall are to be added, as next in succession. Of the four persons, to be chosen from these colleges, the two senior
may

may preside at the examination of the students, admitted in 1773: the other two, at the examination of the students, admitted in 1774.

The examination in May, 1776, will comprehend the students of three years; we must, therefore, now take the six colleges next in succession, viz. Trinity, Benet, St. John's, Magdalen, Pembroke-hall, and Jesus. The two senior of the six examiners, to be chosen from these colleges, may preside in the examination of the students, admitted in 1773: the two next senior may take the students of 1774; while the two junior conduct the examination of those students, who shall be admitted in the year 1775.

The same mode of election is to be pursued, in the appointment of six examiners, for each succeeding year.

With respect to the annual stipend, it is proposed, that ten pounds be paid to each examiner, out of the university chest, within a week after the expiration of his office.

The powers of the examiners should be as ample as possible; and, therefore, it is proposed, that they shall have full authority to prescribe the course for examination, in the
May

May term, which is subsequent to their appointment ; but that they shall be under an obligation to give public notice, with respect to the books, or portions of books, in which they propose to examine, within a fortnight after the day of their election.

It is also proposed, that, although every regent or non-regent should have the liberty of examining any student, in the prescribed course of the year, the public examiners, annually chosen, shall always be considered as the final judges of the comparative merits of the students; and that, having settled these merits from their own examination, and the reports of other examiners; they shall disperse a printed list of so many of the students, as they shall think proper to distinguish with honour, within a reasonable time after the conclusion of the examination.

It is lastly proposed, that, if the university should think proper to assign any honorary rewards to those students, who shall distinguish themselves in latin or english composition, the public examiners of each year shall be also the final judges of the respective merits of the candidates in this, as well as in every other instance.

AN excellent anonymous production, inscribed to the right honourable lord North, chancellor of the university of Oxford, the reverend the vice-chancellor, and the other members of the convocation, (in which the course of education, pursued in that celebrated seat of literature, appears to be very faithfully delineated,) having been publicly handed about in this place; I trust I may be indulged in the liberty of transcribing from it three or four paragraphs, for the information of those persons, who may be desirous of comparing our form of institution, as exhibited in the preceding pages, with the Oxford method of procedure.

The customary exercises for the degree of bachelor of arts, as set forth in this ingenious performance, are as follow:

I. “Disputationes in parvifo.” This exercise is a disputation upon three questions, either in grammar or logic; to be held three days in every week, during full term, and to continue for the space of two hours, namely,
from

from one to three in the afternoon. Every scholar is obliged to perform this disputation twice, and to be created senior soph, some time in his third year; and to repeat the disputation once in every term afterwards, to the end of his fourth year. He is moreover enjoined to attend it, when performed by others, during his second, third, and fourth years.

This exercise is constantly held, as the statute directs; and occasionally superintended by the proctors, or the masters of the schools. So long as the magistrate is present, the disputation is maintained; but it cannot be supposed, during his absence, to be carried on with any great degree of vigour. The questions, as might reasonably be expected from their subject matter, and frequent discussion, are trite and uninteresting. The senior soph, once in every term, comes into the school where the disputation is held, and proposes one syllogism: which, being done purely to satisfy the letter of the statute, "*juramenti gratia*," is commonly stiled "*doing juraments*." The ar-

II. . X ticle

ticle of attendance is, by universal consent, totally neglected and forgot.

II. “ Answering under bachelor.” This exercise is a disputation upon three questions, in logic for the most part, but sometimes in grammar, rhetoric, ethics, or politics. It is to be held twice by every scholar, some time in his third or fourth year, and to continue for the space of an hour and an half. This disputation, as the title of it intimates, is held under the “ moderamen” of a determining bachelor.

The exercise is performed much in the same manner as the preceding; except that, as it is held in lent, the schools are more frequently visited by the proctors and masters.

III. “ Examination.” The statutable examiners are three regent masters, to be appointed, in rotation, by the senior proctor. Any other regent master may concur in the examination, if he pleases. The number of scholars to be examined in the same day, or class, may not exceed six. They are to be examined in grammar, rhetoric, logic, ethics,

ethics, and geometry, and in the greek classics; they are also required to speak the latin tongue with fluency. The vice-chancellor and proctors are enjoined to attend examinations: the former, twice in every term; the latter, four times each; in order to see that they are duly and statutably carried on.

The appointment of examiners, by rotation, has long since been disused; and the number of regents, constantly resident in the university, is so small, that it would be extremely troublesome, if not absolutely impracticable, to resume it. In the present method, the candidate solicits three masters to be his examiners, and then obtains the proctor's appointment or "liceat." The masters usually permit him to chuse his own classics. It seldom happens that more than two or three candidates are examined in the same day, frequently only one. The statute lays no injunction upon scholars to attend examinations, and it is become rather unusual so to do. No other master ever assists at the examination, besides those appointed in the "liceat."

I do not think myself at liberty to subjoin this author's observations, upon the present mode of conducting academical education at Oxford, or the plan which he has proposed for its improvement. But I cannot avoid expressing my wishes, in conjunction with those of many persons of character in this university, that he would render more public his reflections upon a subject, which is so very interesting and important.

A
N A R R A T I V E
O F
ACADEMICAL PROCEEDINGS,
RELATIVE TO THE PROPOSAL
FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
ANNUAL EXAMINATIONS
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

I PROPOSE, in the following narrative, to lay before the public, as succinctly as possible, the measures, which I pursued, in order to accomplish my purpose, as unfolded in the preceding pages ; together with the nature of that opposition, which hath hitherto rendered my efforts unsuccessful. But as, in the course of this history, expressions will unavoidably occur, which, if not explained, may prove unintelligible to some of my readers, it will be necessary for me to preface my account, with a short sketch of our academical constitution.

A “ grace” of the university senate bears some resemblance to an act of the british parliament. It is an ordinance of the legis-

lature of our corporation. Its authority in all matters, relative to academical discipline, is supreme. And it has been maintained by the ablest lawyers, as well as by those of our own body, who have been esteemed best acquainted with the constitution of the university, that, in cases, wherein nothing is enacted in opposition to the laws of the land, neither the “ statutes ” of Elizabeth, nor the “ mandatory letters,” of succeeding kings, although their authority be apparently strengthened by our uninterrupted submission, can stand against the determinations of this respectable assembly.

Those persons, who are masters of arts, or doctors in one or other of the three faculties, of divinity, civil law, and physic, having their names upon the college boards, or resident in the town of Cambridge, have each a voice in the legislative body of the university. The gentlemen who compose it, and who have, therefore, a right to the appellation of “ members of the senate,” are at present in number about four hundred.

The members of the senate are divided into two classes or houses ; and, according to

to this arrangement, they are denominated "regents" or "non-regents," with a view to some particular offices, allotted to the junior division by the statutes of the university.

Masters of arts, of less than five years standing, and doctors of less than two, compose the regent, or, as it is otherwise called, the "white hood" house. All the rest are stiled non-regents, or "black hoods." But doctors of more than two years standing, and the public orator of the university, may vote in either house, according to their pleasure.

Every member of the senate has a right to propose any question, or questions, he thinks proper, to the consideration of this assembly.

Besides the two houses, we have a council called the "caput," which consists of the vice-chancellor, a doctor in each faculty, and two masters of arts, representatives of the regent and non-regent houses.

The vice-chancellor, who is annually elected by the senate upon the fourth of November, is a member of this council, by virtue of his office.

The election of the other members of this council is effected in the following manner.

The vice-chancellor, and the two proctors, severally nominate five persons, properly qualified for the trust, and out of the fifteen, the heads of houses and doctors chuse five. But, in general, the gentlemen in the vice-chancellor's list are honoured with the appointment.

The caput is annually chosen upon the twelfth of October.

Every proposition, or "grace," previously to its being voted by the two houses, is to be read, and approved, by this council.

The six persons, who form the caput, have, by queen Elizabeth's statutes, each of them a negative; but they have seldom been known to use it, unless something manifestly absurd, or obviously derogatory to the credit of the university, is proposed; inasmuch, that nothing has been more common than for a person to give a "placet" in the caput, and a "non-placet" to the same question, in the body, upon the idea, that the caput should be considered in the light of a committee, to prepare the graces, in point
of

of form, for the subsequent voting: as, without some such regulation, it might be difficult to take the sense of the senate, upon the real merits of the question.

After a grace has passed the caput, it is read in the non-regent, and the regent house; and the question remains suspended, till the next congregation. If, after a second reading in both houses, it passes through without a non-placet, it becomes a statute, provided the subject is of a public nature. If a non-placet is put in by a member of either house, it is voted in that house; and, in such a case, the sense of the majority prevails. If circumstances require, that the grace should be considered as a law, it formerly was the custom to inscribe it in the proctors' books: but this part of the process has, of late years, been but seldom put in practice.

These preliminaries being settled, I proceed to give a short narrative of our late proceedings; in the disclosing of which, I shall endeavour to demean myself as a person, who is unconscious of any interested design, and whose sole ambition is to serve the public, in a matter of acknowledged importance.

On

On the fourth of November 1772, Dr. Cooke, the present provost of King's college, upon his entrance into the office of vice-chancellor, made an excellent speech to the university; in which he treated, in general, of the extent and importance of academical education, and of the care and attention necessary in those who should conduct it, with so much spirit and good sense, as induced me to hope, that the favourable moment was now arrived, for the introduction of my long projected institution.

Having drawn up a plan of improvement, which, in substance, was the same with that now published, I sent it to the vice-chancellor, with a short address, upon the twenty-first of November.

In this address, I took occasion to observe, that the prejudices conceived against me by some persons of weight in the university, might possibly obstruct the execution of my project. I insisted upon the great probability, nay even apparent certainty, of success, were the emendation to be proposed in form, by the chief officer of the university: at the same time assuring him, that I had
reason

reason to think, the institution would be strongly supported, were I even reduced to the necessity of proposing it myself.

Two or three days after the delivery of my proposal, the vice-chancellor invited me to a conference ; wherein he behaved with all imaginable politeness. He made the proper inquiries into the state of our academical exercises, (he being at this time unacquainted with many parts of our discipline, on account of his long absence from the university,) and dismissed me, with general assurances of his inclination to favour any scheme, which seemed likely to promote the cause of literature.

It is to be observed in this place, that, both in my written address to the vice-chancellor, and in the subsequent conversation, I gave my free consent, to his conferring upon the subject with any of his brethren.

For the space of about four months, during which time the proposal lay with the vice-chancellor, I took no further public steps in an affair, which, I conceived, was now in abler hands : I called two or three times in this interval, to make some inquiries

quiries concerning the opinion of the vice-chancellor, and of the heads of houses, with respect to my project. His answers upon each visit were guarded, and expressed in very general terms. At last, I plainly discerned, that, although he might be in his heart disposed to wish well to any project of reformation, he was not inclined to combat the difficulties, which might possibly have been thrown in his way, had he attempted to reduce his good intentions into practice.

And since that time, I have had abundant reason to conclude, that in this, as well as many other instances, he permitted himself to be influenced by the counsels of a person, who has always manifested an hostile disposition to the proposed institution; and who has even ventured to hint, that he will dispute the power of the university to enforce obedience to the measure, in case the senate should think proper to consent to its introduction.

Disappointed, therefore, in the pleasing expectations, which I had once entertained, of seeing my project introduced under so respectable a patronage, I desired the printer
of

of the university to wait upon the vice-chancellor, for an "imprimatur" to my "Remarks." Upon being made acquainted with the contents of my tract, he immediately granted the request; but did not hold any further conversations with me upon the subject of my proposal.

The tract was published on the sixth of April. I immediately sent a copy to the vice-chancellor, to the heads of houses, and every tutor in the university. And had soon the pleasure to find, that the proposed institution was received with such marks of approbation, as might reasonably induce me to indulge the most flattering expectations of success.

Upon the sixteenth of April, I published a second edition, with some minute alterations; and, on the twenty-first of the same month, a postscript; at the end of which, I subjoined the following declaration.

"If no material objection shall be urged against the preceding plan, the proposer will offer a grace for its establishment, upon some day before the division of the present term."

During

During the period that elapsed between the first publication of my proposal, and the offering of my grace, no objection was urged either in public, or in private, as far as I could collect, against the establishment of annual examinations. But, as doubts were raised with respect to some particulars in the method, I had laid down, of carrying the design into effect, it was suggested to me by a judicious friend, that it might be advisable to propose the single question of the expediency of annual examinations to the votes of the senate; and to insert, in my intended grace, a clause for the appointment of a committee of learned and active persons, to draw up a plan for the execution; with a proviso, that the scheme, which approved itself to their judgment, should not be considered as the resolution of the university, until it had been voted in form by the senate.

In compliance with this advice, I drew up the following grace, and sent a copy of it, before it was offered in the senate-house, to every member of the caput; at the same time,

time, taking the proper measures to have my intentions published in the university.

A Grace for the establishment of annual examinations.

“Cum reipublicæ nostræ plurimum interesse videatur, ut publicum examen, in literis humanioribus, æque ac in mathematicis et philosophicis disciplinis, quotannis subeat tota juvenus academica;

“Placeat vobis, ut ejusmodi examen in posterum celebretur; et ut [Dominus procancellarius, Dr. Caryl, Dr. Plumptre collegii Reginalis, Dr. Gordon, Dr. Watson, Dr. Hallifax, Mr. Collier, Mr. Lambert, Mr. Postlethwaite, Mr. Joannes Hey, Mr. Farmer, Mr. Barker collegii Reginalis, Mr. Tyrwhitt, Mr. Gould, Mr. Paley, Mr. Squire, Mr. Nafmith, Mr. Arnald, et Mr. Pearce, vel eorum quinque, quorum unus semper sit Dominus procancellarius, sint syndici vestri] ad consultandum de modo examinatores eligendi, et cætera quæ ad hanc rem spectant ritè transigendi; ita tamen ut quod iis placuerit minimè statuti vim habeat, nisi postea vestris suffragiis comprobetur.”

Upon

Upon the eighth of May, I offered my grace in form to the caput.

After three quarters of an hour spent in deliberation, during which time, as it afterwards appeared, the partiality of the syndicate, as not containing a complete representation of the colleges, was chiefly objected to, Dr. Powell put in his non-placet, (in giving which he was not single,) and the grace was consequently rejected.

When the vice-chancellor returned to me the grace, I desired, that he would condescend to acquaint me with the reason of its rejection; but no answer was made to my request.

Upon the tenth of May, I sent the following note to three of the gentlemen, who composed the caput, having made a similar declaration to the other three in person.

“ Mr. Jebb presents his compliments to Dr. —, begs leave to send him the copy of a grace, which it is his present intention to offer to the caput, at the next congregation. If any exception should be taken to the form, before or at the time of presentation, Mr. Jebb will, with all due respect,
attend

attend to what shall be urged by the gentlemen of the caput, upon such occasion ; as he has no other object in view, than to take the sense of the body of the university, upon the merits of the main question.”

This grace was in substance the same as the first. It differed from it only in the appointment of the Syndicate or committee. In the place of the words and names between the brackets, were inserted the following words, “ *syndici nominentur auctoritate senatûs.*”

No objection being urged by any member of the caput, I proposed my second grace to that council, at three o'clock in the afternoon, upon the twelfth of May. After some time spent in debate, the vice-chancellor sent for me; and informed me, that my grace was rejected, and gave the following reasons for the procedure, viz. Informalities in the mode of constructing the grace ; improprieties in the expression ; and the want of time for the consideration of a subject, in its nature so important. As I had reason to suspect from a conversation, which passed that morning between the registry of the

II. Y university

university and myself, that the idea of leaving the choice of syndics to the senate, might possibly be objected to, as unprecedented, I had prepared a third grace, which, at the close of the vice-chancellor's declaration, I proposed to the caput. This grace was allowed to contain a fair and impartial representation of all orders of men in our university. At the same time, another objection, which I very accidentally heard had been urged against the former grace, was removed. In the place of the words and names between the brackets, was now inserted as follows, " Dominus procancellarius, Dr. Caryl, Dr. Plumptre collegii Reginalis, Dr. Brown, Dr. Watson, Dr. Hallifax, Dr. Waring, Mr. Beadon, Mr. Collier, Mr. Lambert, Mr. Thorpe, Mr. Longmire, Mr. Joannes Hey, Mr. Gould, Mr. Farmer, Mr. Jepson, Mr. Paley, Mr. Squire, Mr. Nasmith, Mr. Arnald, et Mr. Pearce, vel eorum septem, quorum unus semper sit Dominus procancellarius, sint syndici vestri."

This also was rejected. Immediately afterwards I proposed a fourth; in which,
instead

instead of the words and names between the brackets, were inserted these words, “*Syndici undeviginti a procancellario vestro, quorum ipse unus sit, infra dies videnos nominentur.*”

The council broke up soon after the reading of this grace; and the vice-chancellor informed me, that it had met with the same fate as the preceding.

It is also to be noted, that, upon the offering of the third of my graces, to the consideration of the caput, mention was made by Dr. Powell, of a grace, to prevent me from offering any more graces, upon the subject of annual examinations. A doubt being immediately started by one of the gentlemen then present, whether a grace, of such a complexion, would be well received by the two houses, Dr. Powell replied, he would undertake for its success. But having reason to suspect, from the manner, in which his proposition was received by his brethren, that a negative would be put upon his motion, were he to propose it in form, he thought it most prudent to change the subject of discourse.

Upon the twenty-fifth of June, I retired

into the country, having publicly expressed my intention, of persevering in my application to the caput, until the point in question should be statutably decided by the suffrages of the senate.

Upon the fifth of July, the following grace was proposed, by the vice-chancellor, which passed the caput, and both houses, without a division.

“ Cum reipublicæ nostræ nonnullis interesse videatur, publicum quotannis totius juventutis academicæ examen institui; idque ipsi publicè nos et obnixè exposcant et efflagitent;

“ Ne rem tam speciosam aut neglectui prorsus habuisse, aut tam novam, tantique momenti, temerè nimis et inconsultò arripuisse, academix vitio vertatur;

“ Placeat vobis ut omnes collegiorum omnium præfecti, tres regii professores in theologiâ, jure civili, et medicinâ, seniores duo e collegiis sanctæ trinitatis et Divi Joannis tutores, et senior quisque ex omni alio collegio tutor, sint syndici vestri, qui convocante procancellario conveniant, collatisque
inter

inter se consiliis deliberent et dijudicent, an fieri omnino possit ut istiusmodi examinationes commode habeantur; an ut habeantur expediat; quo modo, quo loco, quo tempore, quibus præsidibus, quibus examinantibus, commodissime et ad uberrimum in bonis omnibus literis profectum utilissime haberi possunt; quicquid denique iis, vel procancellario, et majori eorum parti visum fuerit, in scripta digestum referant, et die primo Januarii proxime insequentis apud procancellarium deponant, cum ipso protinus cancellario communicandum, vestrisque ita demum suffragiis legitime atque ordine fanciendum."

As the terms of the grace did not require, that the chancellor should be made acquainted with the resolutions of the committee, 'till the first day of the ensuing January, it was naturally to be expected, that the decision of the main question would not have taken place, 'till after the division of the Michaelmas term; which happens on, or about, the 12th of November: this being the time, when, on account of lectures, the presence

of the tutors is rendered indispensable. The committee, however, was convoked, by the rev. Dr. Cooke, upon 21st of October. The debate, according to the best information, seems to have lasted something more than half an hour. At length, the votes being taken by secret scrutiny, fourteen appeared to be against the institution, and nine in its favour. The process was as follows: the question, concerning the practicability of the proposed institution, was written upon a sheet of paper, and laid upon a table, placed in the middle of the room. The words, in which it was expressed, were taken from the grace, viz. “*an fieri omnino possit ut istiusmodi examinationes commode habeantur.*” Immediately under the question, were drawn two lines, with the words “*placet,*” and “*non-placet,*” at their extremity. The company sat in different parts of the room, at a distance from the table. When the voting began, the junior tutor approached the table, made a scratch upon one of these lines, and then retired to his place. His example was followed by the rest of the gentlemen in their order, ’till the whole
number

number of persons present, consisting of three-and-twenty, had given their suffrages.

In the beginning of last November, I published a continuation of my narrative; and, in a series of observations, upon the conduct of the committee, endeavoured to evince the informality of its proceedings.*

Y 4

Upon

[* The following note is extracted from the short tract here referred to, entitled, “ A Continuation of the narrative of academical proceedings, relative to the proposal for the establishment of annual examinations in the university of Cambridge; with observations upon the conduct of the committee, appointed by grace of the senate, on the 5th of July, 1773.” This extract contains all the original matter, not to be found in the “ Remarks,” and is printed here, in order to unite the observations, and preserve their connection with the narrative.]

I hope I shall not be suspected of a disposition to cavil, if I say, that some material informalities appear in the conduct of the committee upon this occasion. The words, “ quicquid denique iis, vel procancellario, et majori eorum parti visum fuerit,” seem to require, that every resolution should appear to be the opinion of an absolute majority of those persons who were named in the committee; i. e. the opinion of at least nineteen of its members; the whole number of persons named being thirty-six. Whereas it is confessed on all sides, that only fourteen voted against the practicability of the institution

Upon the fourteenth of December, I proposed the following grace to the caput of the

stitution. The word "eorum" plainly refers to "all" the persons named in the grace. If nothing more was intended by the gentleman who proposed this grace, than that the presence of a majority of the whole number, with the vice-chancellor at their head, should be necessary in order to proceed to business, he would, no doubt, in compliance with the customary form, have expressed himself as follows: "*PLACEAT VOBIS ut omnes collegiorum omnium præfecti, tres regii professores in theologiâ, jure civili, et medicinâ, seniores duo e collegiis sanctæ trinitatis et Divi Joannis tutores, et senior quisque ex omni alio collegio tutor, VEL EORUM NOVENDECIM, QUORUM UNUS SEMPER SIT DOMINUS PRO-CANCELLARIUS, sint syndici vestri,*" &c. A slight inspection into our grace-books will, I trust, convince the reader of the reasonableness of this remark.

But this reasoning may perhaps appear to be invalidated by urging, that, according to this interpretation, the vice-chancellor would have a negative in every question debated by the committee; and it may be contended, that it is absurd to suppose it to be the wish of the late vice-chancellor, that such unconscionable powers should be conceded by the grace. The history, however, of the concomitant circumstances, is sufficient to convince the most incredulous, that such confidence was intended to be reposed in the vice-chancellor. The actions of men are frequently guided by an influence not discernible by themselves; and, I believe, it is a pretty general

the university, Dr. Caryl being vice-chancellor, and Dr. Brown, Dr. Hallifax, Dr. Plumptre,

general persuasion, that in this, as well as other instances, the late vice-chancellor, who appears to me to have rather wished well to the institution in the main, permitted himself to be directed by the counsels of a person, who has always manifested an hostile disposition to the proposed establishment, and whose conduct in the committee forbids us to suppose, that he would ever have permitted the preceding grace to have passed the caput, unless he had been convinced, that it contained in itself the seeds of its own inevitable destruction.*

If, then, according to the tenor of the grace, the consent of an absolute majority of the committee, with the vice-chancellor among the number, be required, in order to give validity to a resolution, a second informality discloses itself in the proceedings of the 21st of October. The votes of the assembly should not have been taken by secret scrutiny, which all the gentlemen present, with whom I have conversed upon the subject, acknowledge was the fact. Doubts may arise in the breasts of every member of the senate, whether the vice-chancellor was in the majority; a circumstance which should certainly appear to have been the case, when the report is made to the chancellor and to the senate.

Upon inspection into the grace, it also will appear reasonable to suppose, that the opinion of the committee, upon a subject of such consequence, would have been delivered with circumstances of greater solemnity; and its act have been recorded in writing, and signed by

[* See before, p. 316.]

Plumptre, Mr. Hughes, and Mr. Coulston, being members of that council, at the time of its presentation.

“ Cum

by the chairman of the assembly. Nor will it avail the opponents of the measure to plead, that such formality was only required in case a plan had been drawn up for the execution. The words “ in scripta digestum referant,” expressly point to whatever might happen to become the subject of deliberation. And although such conclusion were not to be inferred from the positive terms of the grace, yet respect to the authority, which gave the commission, rendered such procedure in this instance indispensable; for, most surely, the senate has a claim to the amplest information with respect to the reasons that inclined its committee to declare a measure impracticable, which was known to have been esteemed not only practicable, but expedient, nay even necessary, in the judgment of a very large proportion of its members.

I would draw the following conclusions from the preceding observations, viz.

That the members of the committee, who, in obedience to the summons of the vice-chancellor, met upon the 21st of October, and determined the question of the practicability of annual examinations in the negative, have not acted, in some essential points, conformably to the grace from which they derived their authority; and, that the resolution of the majority on that day, has no greater degree of validity, than the resolutions of the majority of the members of any private society, when that majority amounts not to the precise number expressed in their statutes.

I shall

“ Cum quatuordecim ex triginta sex syndicis, die quinto Julii constitutis, visum fuerit, annuum examen totius juventutis academicæ non posse commode haberi; et cum quæstio orta sit, utrum in hoc casu gratiæ, a vobis eodem tempore concessæ, satisfactum sit, quæ postulare videtur, ut ea solummodo firma sit sententia, in quam Dominus procancellarius, et major pars totius numeri syndicorum abierunt;

“ Placeat vobis, ut syndici prædicti, Domino

I shall lastly observe, that if the fourteen gentlemen, who voted against the practicability of the institution upon the 21st of October, should hereafter endeavour to obtain the concurrence of five more of their brethren, in order to form a majority of the committee, such measure must be looked upon as exceptionable, unless the whole matter be again debated at a subsequent meeting. The terms of the grace are express with respect to this point also: “convocante procancellario conveniant, COLLATISQUE INTER SE CONSILIIS deliberent, et dijudicent, &c.”—Words which plainly imply, that no resolution can be valid, unless the subject matter it of be openly discussed, and the question finally decided, by the members of the committee, during the time of their statutable assembly.

My attempts have not hitherto been attended with success; yet the judgment I have formed of the importance

mino procancellario convocante, convenient, donec major pars totius numeri in unam sententiam conspiraverint; et ut eorundem placitum, in scripta digestum, ante diem primum Martii proxime insequentis in senaculo vestro publicetur."

This grace, after some deliberation, passed the caput; and was then read, for the first time, in both houses.

Upon the evening of the same day, I reprinted the grace, passed upon the fifth of July,

portance of the cause, and the confidence, derived from the expectation that I shall be supported by the voice of an approving public, forbid me to despond. And if at last, after the exertion of every manly effort, overborn by the weight of prejudice, and circumvented in my endeavours to obtain a fair and candid decision of my question, I should be obliged to desist, I shall not remain altogether without my consolation; as, exclusively of the satisfaction derived from the approbation of the friends of learning and religion, I shall retire with the persuasion, that, in consequence of my struggles, the task of academical reformation will be rendered more easy to those who shall hereafter be disposed to undertake it; and shall, therefore, have laid in a fund of pleasing reflections, more than sufficient to compensate for the anxieties, and ill treatment, which I have experienced in the prosecution of my design.

Cambridge, Nov. 4, 1773.

July, together with the preceding grace; and, in an appeal to the members of the senate, which was immediately circulated in the university,* I again urged those reasons, which, in my apprehension, rendered invalid the resolution of the twenty-first of October.

Upon the following day, at three o'clock in the afternoon, when, on account of the contested election of a chemical professor, near three hundred members of the senate were present, my grace was read the second time in the non-regent house. A non-placet being put in, it was voted in that house, and, upon the scrutiny, the numbers appeared as follow: non-placets 67, placets 38.

Thus, unconscious of an intention to misrepresent the conduct of any gentleman concerned, I have continued my narrative to the present hour; and have, with all faithfulness, unfolded the most material circumstances, attending the proposal of an institution, which has long appeared to me most likely to restore our credit with the public. An institution, which, after many ineffectual remon-

[* Containing the substance of the preceding note.]

remonstrances of a more private nature, I was at length prevailed upon to propose to our academical corporation, upon the encouragement of persons, whose characters I reverence, and whose opinions, in whatever relates to the advancement of literature, and the honour of our university, I think it wisdom to respect.

This encouragement, I trust, would be a sufficient apology, in the estimation of an indulgent public, for the part I have taken in a question, which I was induced to engage in, from a principle of affection to the interests of our university, and a desire of being useful in my generation, without the remotest prospect of temporal emolument to myself. But I rest my defence upon the merits of my cause. Upon the same basis, I rest my expectations of success. If I have formed a wrong judgment concerning the necessity of academical reformation; if the plan I have proposed, after that fair and candid discussion, which is generally afforded to every subject of apparent consequence, shall prove to be either impracticable or inexpedient; the system itself, together with the arguments

ments urged in its favour, will soon be consigned to deserved oblivion. On the contrary, if, upon an impartial inquiry into the real state of the case, sentiments of a different nature should prevail, the preceding institution, happily approved by the friends of learning and religion, may find an advocate in every thoughtful parent's breast: and, in such circumstances, neither the force of partial interests, nor of unworthy prejudices, will any longer be able to obstruct its establishment.

Cambridge, December 20, 1773.

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A
P R O P O S A L
FOR
THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF PUBLIC EXAMINATIONS,
IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.
WITH OCCASIONAL REMARKS.

FIRST PUBLISHED MDCCLXXIV.

A P R O P O S A L, &c.

IT has frequently been asserted, that the separation of the orders, the severity of the penalty, in case of non-attendance, together with the requisition of a greater degree of proficiency in literature, than is provided for in the public lectures of each society, were the main reasons that occasioned the rejection of the graces, proposed on the 19th of last April, for the establishment of public examinations in the university of Cambridge.

An opinion also very generally prevailed, that some of the regulations, recommended by the syndics, would have succeeded, if they had been separately submitted to the suffrages of the senate.

It should seem, therefore, that there is sufficient ground to indulge the pleasing expectation, that if such temperaments were proposed, as fully obviated the preceding objections, the plan of the very learned and

very able committee might still be adopted in its most essential parts ; and thus the university derive credit, and the nation substantial advantage, from the labours of a set of men, whose acknowledged abilities and respectable station, in a peculiar manner, qualified them for the discharge of their important trust.

With this view, a member of the academical senate begs leave to suggest the following modification of the late committee's scheme. He has carefully consulted some of the most judicious of his friends upon the subject-matter of every article : he has endeavoured to draw it up in such a manner, that the whole, taken together, may form one consistent, practicable plan ; while at the same time it is so constructed, that the sentiments of the senate may be separately taken upon each constituent part ; in order, that, if necessity require, corrections and amendments may be admitted in every subsequent portion of the institution, without injury to those that may happen to be previously approved.

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It is his intention to proceed upon the following principle, viz.

That although the youth of this place have, in general, sufficient means of information afforded to them by the public tutors, yet that something is wanted to secure a proper degree of attention to the customary course of college lectures.*

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* It may be expected, that, as this is a fundamental principle, I should endeavour to establish it by a proof from facts.

But, to enter into such a detail as would be necessary for this purpose, cannot certainly be a pleasing employment to an academical man.

And as what I reluctantly inserted, relative to this subject, in a former publication, (see p. 262—277) has never been controverted, I will spare myself the disagreeable recital.

Upon the present occasion, it will be sufficient to observe, that the friends of the university have frequently lamented the prevalence of the evil I allude to, viz. an almost universal inattention to every species of useful literature, accompanied with an increasing spirit of dissipation and extravagance, in all the orders of our youth.

And, that there appears to be a very general conviction in the nation, that these disorders, whether they derive themselves from a relaxed state of discipline, or the excesses of parental indulgence, require the introduction of an institution, more adapted to the present exigencies, than any hitherto established in either university.

With a view of effecting this desirable purpose, it is proposed,

I. That a public examination of such noblemen and fellow-commoners, as have been admitted since the friday, next after the commencement 1774, or shall be admitted before or upon the friday, next after the commencement 1775, be held in the senate-house, at some time, hereafter to be appointed in the year 1776.

II. That a public examination of such pensioners and fizarers, as have been admitted since the friday, next after the commencement 1774, or shall be admitted before or upon the friday, next after the commencement 1775, be held in the senate-house, at some time, hereafter to be appointed, in the year 1776.

III. That these examinations be united, so as to constitute one examination of all the students admitted as above.

IV. That this examination be held upon the third monday, tuesday, and wednesday in November 1776, from nine to twelve in the mornings, and from two to five in the afternoons of the monday and tuesday.

V. That each person attending this examination

amination be examined in the latin and greek classics, and the elements of geometry and algebra.

VI. That, at this examination, the examiners hereafter to be appointed declare, in a writing to be delivered to the vice-chancellor, which of the persons, then examined, appear upon the whole to be the best scholars, not distinguishing more than a third part, and placing the persons so distinguished according to their respective order of merit; and that such declaration be published by the senior proctor to the senate, at the next following congregation, and copies thereof sent by him to each college.

VII. That each nobleman and fellow-commoner, admitted as above, be subjected to one other public examination, and that such examination be held upon the fourth monday, tuesday and wednesday in November 1777, from nine to twelve in the mornings, and from two to five in the afternoons of the monday and tuesday.

VIII. That each person, attending this examination, be examined in Locke's Essay on the human understanding; natural philosophy; and modern history.

IX. That at this second examination of the noblemen and fellow-commoners, in November 1777, the examiners hereafter to be appointed declare, in a writing to be delivered to the vice-chancellor, which of the persons, then examined, appear upon the whole to be the best scholars, not distinguishing more than a third part, and placing the persons so distinguished according to their respective order of merit; and that such declaration be published by the vice-chancellor to the senate at the next following congregation, and copies thereof transmitted by him to the chancellor of the university, and sent to each college.

X. That persons changing their order to become fellow-commoners be, in the examinations, classed with such as are of the same standing with themselves by admission.

XI. That any nobleman and fellow-commoner admitted as above, and having been resident, who shall absent himself from either of the preceding examinations, and any pensioner and sizar, in the same circumstances, who shall absent himself from the first, without

out sufficient reason, shall be publicly admonished, or subjected to such other academical censure, short of rustication, as the vice-chancellor and the two proctors, or the vice-chancellor with one proctor, shall think the case deserves : that a reason, certified to the vice-chancellor by the master or locum-tenens of his college, and approved by the major part of the vice-chancellor and heads then resident, be deemed sufficient to excuse any person's absence from a whole examination : and that a reason, approved by the major part of the seven examiners, hereafter to be appointed, be deemed sufficient to excuse any person's absence from any part of an examination.

XII. That a similar course be observed in the case of all the academic youth, who shall be admitted in each succeeding year.

XIII. That seven examiners, members of the senate, or bachelors of law or physic, be annually appointed from the several colleges, in the order of the cycle of opponents in divinity: except that Trinity-hall be added to King's college, and that the mode of appointing

pointing its own examiners be left to each college.

XIV. That King's college shall appoint an examiner each of the first two years, and Trinity-hall the third year, and so always : that where three colleges are laid together to provide one examiner, they have the appointment according to seniority of foundation : and that the seven examiners, so appointed, be presented to the vice-chancellor, on or before the 11th of June every year.

XV. That at the first examination in November 1776, all the seven examiners examine such students as shall then attend : that at the examinations in November 1777, the two senior of the seven examine the noblemen and fellow-commoners of the senior year ; the other five, the students of the junior year, and so always.

XVI. That besides the seven appointed examiners, any member of the senate, or bachelor of law or physic, be at liberty to examine.

XVII. That each of the seven examiners receive a gratuity of ten guineas, to be paid out of the university chest : that every noble-
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man and fellow-commoner, who shall be admitted after the 12th of November 1774, pay at his admission two guineas, and every pensioner half a guinea, towards replacing in the chest such sums as shall be thence so issued : and that all persons already admitted and subjected to the above-mentioned examinations, be charged with the same payments at the close of the present quarter.

XVIII. That the monies so charged at the admissions of noblemen, fellow-commoners, and pensioners, be accounted for to the vice-chancellor, on the saturdays, next before the days of examination, by their respective tutors, who shall, at the same times, deliver lists of such of their pupils, as are to be examined, with the dates of their admissions.*

If the preceding plan were put in execution, it is humbly conceived, that the fellow-commoners and pensioners may continue to attend the same public lectures; that it would

* [The propositions which were submitted to the senate, Oct. 28, 1774, were a revised copy of the foregoing, and are preserved under that date, in the memoirs of the life of the author.]

would correspond with the general course, given at present in every college, during the first and second years of residence ; and that it would not materially interfere with the scheme of examinations now established at St. John's college.*

But in order that the advantages, which I apprehend would result from the establishment of the late committee's regulations, as modified in the foregoing pages, may be more clearly discerned, I will subjoin some observations in a regular series, upon such of the preceding propositions, as seem to require illustration.

I. I trust that there is no occasion to begin these

* This last is a circumstance, which, without a compliment to a gentleman, who certainly merits none at my hands, is unquestionably deserving of some attention. For, as, on the one side, it is not reasonable that the university should decline embracing a measure, that is likely to be attended with general advantage, because it may, perhaps, render less necessary Dr. Powell's merely local institution ; so, on the other, it is but fair and equitable, that the scheme of literary discipline, adopted by the university, should be constructed in such a manner, as not to run counter to the doctor's long established particular course, which has hitherto been very successful, unless the most evident necessity should so require.

these observations with a demonstration of the expediency of the proposed institution, in the case of youth of superior rank and fortune. I will only add, to what I have already observed in my former publication on this subject, that it is not merely the residence of noble youth, which gives a lustre to this seminary ; nor is it the recollection of the pleasurable scenes they have enjoyed here, which endears the remembrance of it to them at a future period. It is only by the consciousness that we have contributed to the forming of their minds to a love of virtue and a love of science, that we can be enabled hereafter to recognize our relation to them with real sentiments of satisfaction. And it is the full conviction on their part, that they have derived from us the principles of sound morality, the rudiments of useful knowledge, that can alone induce them to regard us with a reciprocal esteem.

II. As the bachelor's degree, on account of its distance from the time of admission, does not seem to furnish a sufficient incentive to youthful emulation, at the season when such a principle would be of greatest use,

use, the institution of at least one examination of the pensioners and fizarars, at an earlier period, appears to be an expedient, and, indeed, a very necessary measure. Further arguments in favour of such an institution may be collected from what I have noticed, with respect to the present mode of education at Cambridge, in my "Remarks" on that subject.

The judicious resolution, cited below,*
will,

* Declaration published by the vice-chancellor,
May 20, 1774.

(C O P Y .)

" Whereas it appears to be the general opinion of those, who have of late years examined the candidates for the degree of bachelor of arts, that such candidates have applied too much to the abstruser parts of mathematics, neglecting the study of natural philosophy, and even of the elements of mathematics; which opinion prevailed also among the syndics, appointed to deliberate upon the grace which passed the senate on the 17th of February last, as is manifest from the 19th of their resolutions:

" The vice-chancellor takes the liberty of desiring the tutors of every college to communicate to their pupils the following resolution, which, he is authorised to say, has been agreed upon by those persons, who are likely to be the proctors and moderators of the ensuing year.

" That

will, in all probability, produce the intended effect. It may be the means of substituting substantial science in the place of that vain semblance of it, which, of late, has so much disgraced us. But as it provides no remedy for that early dissipation, which the utmost diligence of the tutors hath hitherto been unable to prevent, the reasons for introducing a more powerful call to attention, than subsists at present, still remain in full force. *

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“ That unless a person be found to have a competent knowledge of Euclid’s Elements, and of the plainer parts of the four branches of natural philosophy, no attention will be paid to his other mathematical knowledge. And that in every branch of science, the clearest and most accurate knowledge, rather than the most extensive, will be regarded as the best claim to academical honours.”

* It may be further observed under this head, that although very valuable improvements in useful literature may be expected to flow from the institution in question; yet that the means of attaining these very improvements are intended to be subservient also to objects still more noble and important. Idleness is the root of every evil. But the youth, whose opening powers of reason are invited to unfold themselves by the call of emulation, and who is, for the most part, usefully employed, will, in all probability, be temperate, frugal, and discreet, with respect to every other part of his demeanour,

It is also submitted to the judgment of those gentlemen, who are apprehensive that the interests of mathematics will be affected by any alterations in our system, whether the application of the pensioner and sizar to the course, prescribed for the degree of bachelor of arts, can possibly be endangered by an examination, intended to take place above two years before the examination for such degree, and of which the elements of algebra and Euclid are to form a part.

III. I have already hinted to my readers, that the separation of the noblemen and fellow-commoners from the pensioners and sizars, in the scheme of examinations proposed by the syndicate, was considered as a material and fundamental objection against the whole institution.

It was urged in favour of such separation, that the views and pursuits of the students of the higher orders being materially different from those of inferior degree, it was reasonable that their course of study should be also different.

It was further maintained, that many students of family and fortune would be discouraged

couraged by the too probable ill success of their labours ; inasmuch as they must foresee, that in most instances they would be out-done by those persons, in whose case the call of necessity would be added to the incentive of emulation.

On the other side, it was asserted, that a separation of the orders, upon such an occasion, and a distinction of studies, would not be strictly academical, and might be esteemed invidious : that some persons were to be found in the rank of pensioners, superior in point both of family and fortune, to several of the order above them : that the noblemen and fellow-commoners, having more expended on their education, come generally better prepared in classical knowledge ; had often an higher sense of honour, in consequence of their superior station ; and that in St. John's college, where they were examined indiscriminately with the rest, no inconveniencies, but, on the contrary, great advantages, were derived from subjecting all orders to the same discipline, and from proposing to the emulation of all who attend

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the same public lectures, the same rewards of successful application.

I will not enter into a minute discussion of the merits of this controversy. I will only beg leave to refer it to the consideration of my attentive reader, whether, by uniting all orders in an examination at the close of the first year, and by subjecting only noblemen and fellow-commoners to a second examination, every inconvenience, insisted upon by the partizans of either side of the question, may not be happily avoided.

IV. The month of November, 1776, is thought preferable to any other season, for the first examination of the students, admitted as above ; because, at that time, the students of all denominations will have gone through a complete course of lectures with the public tutors, in classics, algebra, and Euclid ; and also have had sufficient leisure, during the summer months, to review and to digest those lectures : the initiatory course in every society beginning in November, and ending in June following. The time of vacation will also probably be shortened, in consequence of this arrangement, as the students

dents will be disposed to return earlier in October than they are wont to do at present, in order the better to prepare themselves for the ensuing examination.

V. An examination in the latin and greek classics, although it may afford to the industrious student an opportunity of distinguishing himself also in composition, and in ancient history, will not require so great a degree of application as may be at first supposed. Nor will a preparation for it preclude a proper measure of improvement, in the elementary parts of geometry and algebra.

It must be considered, that, with respect to classical knowledge, the student comes to the university already prepared. And if this should not universally be the case, yet the establishment of academical examinations will, by a reflex act, secure a greater degree of previous attention to this species of literature in each inferior seminary. This examination also will naturally be understood to be restrained to such books as are the subject of college lectures, or most commonly are read in schools.

But if it be the present sentiment, or experience should hereafter prove, that the proposition is too indefinite, particular books, or portions of books, may be specified by subsequent regulations, as circumstances shall require.

In order more distinctly to perceive the propriety of an examination in the elements of algebra and geometry, it will be necessary to recollect, that the more immediate purpose of public examinations is to engage the attention of youth to the customary course of college lectures.* This course, for the first year, consists of lectures in classics, in arithmetic, the fundamental principles of algebra,

* I am happy in finding myself to be of the same opinion, as to the immediate end of public examinations, with the candid author of a Proposal, dated April the 25th, 1774, which was circulated in the university, and inserted in many of the public papers. I will take the liberty of extracting the following sentences from it, as containing the best illustration of my own idea. "The chief instruction which the youth of the university receive is from the lectures of the tutors. If the public examinations can be adapted to these lectures, they must have a constant daily influence upon the hearers, and make them more attentive to every thing they are taught."

algebra, the elements of Euclid, and, in some few societies, Duncan's logic. If it is improper that our academical youth, particularly those of more elevated prospects, should be examined in such subjects, lectures upon them are also improper. But no person, who reflects how much the judgment and invention are assisted by a temperate exercise of the rational powers in mathematical pursuits, and in how short a time, with proper application, a competency of this species of knowledge may be obtained, will be tempted to wish the minutest alteration in our initiatory course.

VI. Much has been urged, in conversation, by the opponents of the projected measures, to evince, that the passion of emulation, because sometimes found, in particular circumstances, to be productive of envy, ought not to be encouraged in the breasts of youth. And it has been contended, that no improvement in literature is likely to be attended with beneficial fruits in social life, unless such improvement be the result of a full conviction of its utility.

In reply to such objections I would ob-

serve, that our present subject of debate is not concerning the best mode of educating youth, or the best motives to improvement in science, but concerning the best means of obviating inconveniencies, that arise from a form of education already established, and still likely to prevail. Other modes of education have their peculiar advantages, which I by no means call in question. But in a situation, circumstanced as Cambridge, where fashion and example, united with every other temptation to each ruinous and illiberal indulgence, exert an unremitting influence, in opposition to the calls of duty, and dictates of right reason, I will venture to affirm, that a very small portion of the numbers, annually admitted there, conduct themselves in such a manner, as to satisfy the reasonable expectations of their friends, without having found themselves actuated, in some one period of their residence, by the generous glow of an emulative spirit. A very necessary caution is, however, to be observed in this case; and the syndics have, in fact, attended to it, with their usual judgment. They have proposed such incitements as will

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rouse the spirit of industry in the youth of courage and ability, without depressing the minds of those, who, with parts less brilliant, or inferior resolution, may still be useful and valuable members of society.

In the present instance, it may be contended, that as each student will afterwards have an opportunity of appearing with honour; viz. the nobleman and fellow-commoner in the following November; the pensioner and sizar at the time of the bachelors degree; and as the names of those, who have acquitted themselves to the satisfaction of their examiners, will generally be known in the university; the distinctions, proposed in the article immediately under our consideration, are not so necessary as in the subsequent examination of the noblemen and fellow-commoners in November 1777. If this should prove to be the general sentiment, many objections, that have been urged against the joining of all orders of youth in the same examination, would immediately disappear.

But, for my own part, I must confess, I see no objection to the establishment of this

article in its present form. If, in the judgment of some, its expediency should appear questionable, let such recollect, that the same power, which establishes, can also abrogate or amend, as experience, the grand correctives of human projects, shall appear to dictate.

VII. A second examination of the pensioners and fizaris, whose minds at this time will begin to be agitated by the nearer prospect of their degree, is certainly not so essential as a second examination of the noblemen and fellow-commoners; who, as it was before observed, generally leave us after a little more than two years residence. And yet, I must own, that I by no means perceive the force of the objection, frequently urged against such examination, viz. that a preparation for it would interfere with their preparation for the public schools; in which they will be called upon to appear as disputants in the ensuing January. But I believe the general opinion at Cambridge is unfavourable to the institution of more than one examination for the pensioners and fizaris;

zars; and, therefore, more than one is not proposed.

VIII. Classics are not proposed as the subject matter of this examination, because they are not contained in the course of college lectures for the second year. Locke's Essay on the human understanding, if I am not deceived, forms a part of this course in all our societies. And most unquestionably with great propriety; as it contains the principles of the soundest logic, of the most rational metaphysics, and of the best morality. The study of natural philosophy is not only pleasing, but is pregnant also with innumerable advantages. The most popular parts are chiefly insisted upon in the public lectures, i. e. those parts which are most easy of comprehension, and bear the most intimate connection with the exigencies and elegancies of social life. The noblemen and fellow-commoners hear lectures upon its four branches, together with the students of the inferior orders; and, therefore, a proficiency, proportionable to the degree of attention, which is allowed to it in the lectures of the second year, may with reason be expected.

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It must indeed be acknowledged, that the course of study, traced out in this proposition, as well as the system of which it is a part, is capable of improvements. Proper amendments may hereafter be suggested; and will certainly be admitted with greater ease, if, previously recommended by the example of private societies, they be gradually introduced into the general plan. But the foundation must first be laid in corrected manners, and regularly formed habits of attention. The securing of those important points, which I trust the establishment of the projected institution would enable us to accomplish, is a preliminary step, indispensably necessary in our progress towards perfection.

It is presumed that the insertion of modern history, the only part of the proposed course, which is not provided for in the lectures of each society, will not appear liable to any just exceptions. An opportunity of information, deserving of the most sedulous attention, is now very generally afforded to the nobleman and fellow-commoner, in consequence of the late institution of public lectures on this interesting subject.

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IX. The incitements to literary industry, contained in this proposition, appear to be very judiciously suited to the case in question. Were they to be adopted by our academical senate, Cambridge would soon be rendered, by the superiority of her generous discipline, the favoured resort of noble youth, and thus become a seminary, to which the nation might hereafter own itself indebted for the most illustrious examples of public virtue.

A book has lately been formed by the registry of the university, for the purpose of inserting the names of those students, who have obtained, or shall hereafter obtain the medals and prizes, given by the chancellor and university members; or shall be otherwise distinguished for improvements in literature. It might not be improper to transcribe the honourable testimony, recommended by the syndicate in the present instance, into this book.

I would further observe, with respect to the article under consideration, that our "alma mater" has every reason to suppose, that her present chancellor would not be inattentive

attentive to these authentic memorials of the literary merit of her sons. If other evidences were wanting of an affectionate regard, his grace's very explicit, and truly honourable approbation of the regulations proposed by the late committee, is sufficient to convince us, that he is sincerely disposed to co-operate with us in every measure, which we shall judge conducive to the improvement of the noble and ingenuous youth, intrusted to our care, in habits of virtue and industrious application.

XI. The sanction, contained in the tenth article of the regulations, proposed by the late syndicate, was much objected to on account of its severity. And some doubts were raised concerning the power of the university to enforce its execution.

Without entering into the merits of this latter controversy, I shall only observe, that if sanctions less severe will secure the obedience of the student, they ought certainly to be adopted in preference to those of a more rigorous kind; and that the most lenient measures should always first be tried. As parents and guardians may naturally be expected

pected to add their influence to the authority of the tutors and the heads of houses, it appears very improbable, that there should be occasion for the infliction of any academical censures whatsoever, at the first establishment of the proposed institution; and still more improbable, that there should be a necessity for them at any future period.

It also deserves to be considered, whether the apprehensions of youth are not much more likely to be alarmed, and their cheerful compliance with the proposed regulations consequently impeded, when they perceive that an institution, introduced for the purpose of calling forth the free exercise of their emulative powers, assumes a gloomy, melancholy air, the unavoidable consequence of its being guarded by so severe a penalty as expulsion.

XIII. XIV. The mode of appointing the examiners, recommended in these articles, was so intirely approved by the university, that it would be highly presumptuous in me to propose the slightest amendment. The time of presentation to the vice-chancellor is indeed unavoidably altered, on account of the

the proposed alteration in the time of the examinations.

The more attentively the subject is considered, the more clearly, I am persuaded, it will appear, that academical knowledge would, in various ways and measures, be advanced by the proposed institution. The degree of credit, that would necessarily be annexed to the office of an examiner, might be the means of inviting many of the resident bachelors of arts, who are approaching to the rank of regent masters, to a still more animated degree of attention to each branch of useful literature.

XV. This method of dividing the number of the examiners is intended to have respect to the number of the students. It is supposed, that about twenty-five or thirty noblemen and fellow-commoners are admitted each year, and about an hundred or more of the inferior orders. If the former are always examined separately from the rest, there must also be a further division of those examiners, who are assigned to the junior year. But this may be easily settled among the examiners themselves.

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XVI. The plan of the examination, adopted in the resolutions of the late syndicate, is the same with that which is pursued so successfully at the time of the bachelor's degree, and is at large described in my former publication.

It has, however, frequently been urged as an objection to the regulations in question, that all young men are not equally qualified to stand the terrors of a public examination: and, consequently, that modest merit will often remain unrewarded.

I am not surpris'd that persons, who are strangers to our method of conducting public examinations, should think that there is some force in this objection. But it is inconceivable that it should ever seriously be urged by any gentleman, who is acquainted with the solemn trials of the students, every half year at St. John's college, and, every quarter, in the university of Dublin.

In the former of these seminaries, the questions are propos'd, and the answers given, in the presence of the whole society; in the latter, in the hearing of the division;
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which consists sometimes of between twenty and thirty persons. Whereas in the examination for the bachelors degree, which is proposed as the model of the new examinations, being indeed the only practicable model, seldom more than six are examined together at the moderator's tables; which tables stand at a distance from each other, and are intirely withdrawn from public observation. The examination by the other members of the senate is still more private, the examiner and the student always retiring to a place by themselves.

To all who shall attentively inquire into the nature and circumstances of this celebrated examination, its constitution will appear most admirable; whether we consider the inducements it affords to diligence in the examining parties, the guards it opposes to partiality, or the means it provides for eliciting the most latent merit of the student. It is moreover conducted with singular humanity in every case that requires it. Insomuch, that I believe scarcely a single instance can be produced of a person,
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who failed in obtaining the degree of credit he deserved, through diffidence of his abilities; while many occur, every year, of those, who having failed in the public disputations, where effrontery is more successful, have afterwards in the senate-house, by the universal suffrage, been invested with those accumulated honours, which real abilities, united with their most amiable attendant, modesty, so justly demand.

XVII. XVIII. These propositions are transcribed from the resolutions of the syndicate, altered only with respect to dates. It will be sufficient to observe that, at the time of their publication, they were very generally approved.

Having now exhibited that form of literary discipline, which, upon the maturest reflection, appears most practicable in our present circumstances; having also endeavoured to establish the propriety of each particular measure by such arguments, as to my apprehension are conclusive, I have only further to add at present, that, in compliance with

the desire of many judicious and respectable friends, I intend to offer the preceding propositions, in separate graces, to our academical senate, upon some day near the close of the ensuing October: trusting, that the same generosity and candour, which I have hitherto experienced, in such abundant measure, from the numerous patrons of the proposed institution, will continue to attend my well intentioned efforts to promote the interests of virtue, and advance the cause of useful learning.

July 17, 1774.

AN
ADDRESS
TO THE
MEMBERS OF THE SENATE
OF
CAMBRIDGE.

“ An english citizen, or, if you will, senator, (for this is the station to which our greater citizens do, and our best should aspire) can never acquit himself of the duties he owes his country, under this character, but by furnishing himself with all those qualities of the head and heart, which his superior rank and pretensions demand.” Bp. Hurd’s Moral and political dialogues, vol. iii. p. 69.

“ To think justly, to write well, to speak agreeably, are the three great ends of academic instruction. The universities will excuse me, if I observe, that both are, in one respect or other, defective in these three capital points of education. While in Cambridge the general application is turned altogether on speculative knowledge, with little regard to polite letters, taste, or style: in Oxford, the whole attention is directed towards classical correctness, without any sound foundation laid in severe reasoning and philosophy: in Cambridge and in Oxford, the art of speaking agreeably is so far from being taught, that it is hardly talked or thought of. These defects naturally produce dry unaffecting compositions in the one; superficial taste and puerile elegance in the other; ungracious or affected speech in both.” Dr. Brown’s Estimate of the manners and principles of the times, vol. ii. p. 68.

AN ADDRESS, &c.

I AGAIN submit, with all deference and respect, the following plan of public examinations to the consideration of the senate of Cambridge; and, at the same time, declare my intention of proposing it to the suffrages of that assembly, upon some day near the close of the ensuing February.

As the propositions, which form this plan, will be offered in distinct graces, it is to be presumed, that a difference of opinion, concerning the particular mode of execution, will not obstruct the establishment of those, which comprehend the merits of the main question. If the introduction of public examinations should be esteemed a necessary measure, and yet the means now proposed appear exceptionable, means, better adapted to the circumstances of the university, may become the subject-matter of subsequent deliberation. I shall only observe, that the measures here subjoined are, in every mate-

rial respect, the same with those, which were suggested by the committee, appointed by a grace of the senate on the 17th of February, 1774.*

I have also re-printed such preliminary “postulata,” as appear to point out the necessity

* The following considerations may perhaps appear worthy of some attention.

1. The gentlemen who composed the above committee, were persons of the most distinguished character and station in the university. They formed a fair and equal representative of the heads of houses, public tutors, and professors. The whole number consisted of twenty-one, of whom seventeen have, upon various occasions, declared themselves strenuously in favour of the proposed measures.

2. The scheme of annual examinations, which was the result of their labours, received the honourable testimony of the chancellor in its favour. And it is well known, that many of our prelates have expressed their wishes, that it might be carried into effectual execution.

3. It has frequently been intimated, that the public tutors have declared themselves as disinclined to adopt the plan of examinations, induced by an apprehension, that the education of youth would thereby be transferred to improper persons. On the contrary, it is a fact, that a very considerable majority of the public tutors are known to approve the projected institution.

This objection, which never appeared to me as of any weight, is, however, I trust, sufficiently obviated, by the alteration introduced into the fifteenth proposition.

cessity of some alteration in our literary course.

The mode of transacting business in our legislative assembly, which, unfortunately, is not of the deliberative kind, each component part being generally understood to be possessed only of a negative voice, too frequently prevents the proper discussion of many of those important questions, which are proposed to its suffrages; and is, moreover, attended with various other inconveniencies.

A grace, for instance, is drawn up and offered to the caput; it is judged deficient in point of form, or in some other respect objectionable; and is consequently rejected. An event, against which there is no security, as the persons who compose this council, of whom each possesses a negative, are not esteemed to be under any obligation to assign the particular reason of their conduct.

In the period between the passing of a grace in the caput, and the time of voting it in the non-regent and the regent houses, the minutest amendment is absolutely inadmissible. Objections are started in the in-

terval, which, upon a little reflection, might be obviated, or, by a slight alteration in some unessential circumstances, totally removed; the main question is, however, lost, for want of such amendment; and custom hath decreed, that it cannot again be offered in that term.

After infinite labour, the various objections are collected, obviated, or proper amendments inserted in the grace. New objections are, however, started on the day of trial, and the question is again rejected. After a certain number of such rejections, the friends of the measure, thus discouraged by repeated failures, no longer exert themselves with vigour in its support.

How far these obstructions have operated in the present instance, the history of the whole procedure may one day evince.

The preceding observations evidence the propriety of submitting every question of importance to public discussion before the time of its proposal to the senate.

I am also satisfied, that every fair opponent ought to esteem it a point of honour, to offer his objections in such a manner, as
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to afford an opportunity of reply. Be this as it may, I judge it most agreeable to order, as well as most respectful, to give this previous intimation of my design ; and with the utmost sincerity of purpose, I now declare my willingness to adopt such alterations in the form, or subject-matter, of every proposition, as, upon inquiry or suggestion, I shall discover to be agreeable to the general voice.

I have reason to believe, that a respectable majority of the resident members of the university are favourably inclined to the establishment of public examinations ; and that this is more particularly the case, with respect to the gentlemen who compose the regent house ; upon whose abilities, integrity, and spirit, the execution of the plan must in principal measure depend.

I have the pleasure to reflect, that, throughout the whole course of my attempt to introduce the institution in question, I have made a fair and open appeal to the informed understandings of my readers. In every material instance, I have given my name to the public, as esteeming myself responsible for
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the truth of those facts, upon which I have rested the propriety of the proposed measures. I have, therefore, a right to insist, that those gentlemen, who maintain, that the introduction of annual examinations is “unnecessary, inexpedient, impracticable, or likely to be attended with ruinous consequences,” be equally explicit; that they state their opinions with precision, and support them by argument; that, as the contended necessity for the introduction of some improvement into our course has been founded upon alledged imperfections in our discipline, they, in their vindication of our present forms, especially attend to the essentials of the charge; that they be equally circumstantial in their representations, and authenticate their assertions in the same manner. I may venture, without presumption, to assure them, that they will find in me an adversary, who will consider their positions with candour, and treat their persons with respect.

PRELIMINARY POSTULATA.

I. That the higher orders of our youth, consisting of students, many of whom may be hereafter called to bear the most important offices in the state, do not appear to be sufficiently guarded, at present, against the numerous temptations, to which persons of fortune are peculiarly exposed ; and also are destitute of those incentives to literary application, which, in the case of students of inferior rank, have hitherto been attended with many beneficial effects.*

II. That the application of the pensioners and sizars to the study of the mathematics and natural philosophy, (eminence in which is now understood to constitute the fairest, if not the sole, claim to honorary distinctions, at the time of admission to the bachelor's degree,) is usually deferred to the last year
of

* Noblemen, and many other persons under that description in the university, are entitled to the degree of master of arts at two years standing. No examination whatever, whether philosophical or classical, is required as a preliminary step to this degree.

of residence; and that the two first are generally abandoned to idleness and dissipation.

III. That it appears reasonable to suppose, that the expenses of all orders of youth in this place would be diminished, and the probability of escaping the dangers, to which they are at present exposed, be increased, by the diffusion of such a spirit of emulation, as would effect a steady and uniform application to those studies, which the wisdom of the university, acting in concurrence with the domestic discipline of each society, should approve.

IV. That if, in particular, the attention of the noblemen and fellow-commoners were thus invited to a course of study, adapted to their rank and expectations, it is highly probable, that the number of admissions in those orders would be more increased, in consequence of the opportunities of improvement, resulting from such a regulation, than diminished by the apprehensions of the rigour of our discipline.*

V. That

* The subjoined plan, though in various respects unavoidably defective, may however serve as a permanent

V. That the dissipation, which generally prevails among the higher orders of our youth, who are liberally provided with the means of indulging themselves in every improper gratification, at the same time that they are recalled from the pursuit of them by no incitement of emulation, nor scarcely by any other less generous method of restraint, must exert a baneful influence upon the manners of those students, whose future fortunes depend upon their own industrious application.

VI. That the proposal of honorary distinctions, as incitements to the study of classical learning, during the first years of residence, if adopted also in the case of the pensioners and sizars, would be attended with a beneficial influence upon every inferior seminary in the kingdom: at the same time that an
early

ment basis for future improvements. Its proper end and aim is to secure the attention of young men of all ranks and orders to the lectures of their tutors, by the institution of public examinations, accommodated to those lectures, and, therefore, open to the admission of such alterations, with respect to their subject matter, as expedience may hereafter dictate.

early experiment of the abilities and literary accomplishments of youth, would probably induce many, who are possessed of less confirmed habits of attention, seasonably to withdraw themselves from a place, where they, at present, expend the means of their future subsistence, without the remotest probability of improvement.

If the preceding postulata appear to be founded in reason and truth, it is presumed, that an happy concurrence of sentiment may be expected in favour of an institution, projected for the purpose of guarding the virtue, and ensuring the literary improvement, of those illustrious and ingenuous youth, who are intrusted to our care, and with whose success, in future life, our own estimation with the public must, consequently, always bear an intimate connection.

A copy of the PROPOSITIONS, which will be submitted, in regular succession, to the suffrages of the senate, in the ensuing February.

I. A public examination of such noblemen and fellow-commoners, as have been admitted

admitted since the friday, next after the commencement 1775, or shall be admitted before or upon the friday, next after the commencement 1776, shall be held in the senate-house, at some time in the year 1777, hereafter to be appointed.

“ Placeat vobis ut ordinatio modo lecta, vestrâ auctoritate rata, vim statuti obtineat, et in libris procancellarii et procuratorum infra quindecim dies inscribatur.*

II. A public examination of such pensioners and sizars, as have been admitted since the friday, next after the commencement 1775, or shall be admitted before or upon the friday, next after the commencement 1776, shall be held in the senate-house, at some time in the year 1777, hereafter to be appointed; saving to King's college its usual privileges.

III. The examinations, proposed in the two foregoing regulations, shall be united, so as to constitute one examination of all the students,

* Each of the propositions that follow, at the time of its presentment to the senate, will be exhibited written on a separate paper, with the same latin formulary subjoined.

students, admitted within the periods therein specified.

IV. The examination, proposed in the preceding ordinance, shall be held upon the third monday, tuesday, and wednesday, in November 1777, from nine to twelve in the mornings, and from two to five in the afternoons of the monday and tuesday.

V. Each person, attending the examination in 1777, shall be examined in the latin and greek classics, and in the elements of geometry, and algebra.

VI. At the close of the examination in 1777, the examiners hereafter to be appointed (or the majority of them) shall declare, in a writing to be delivered to the vice-chancellor, which of the persons, then examined, appear upon the whole to be the best scholars, not distinguishing more than a third part, and placing the persons so distinguished according to their respective order of merit; copies also of such declaration shall be sent to each college.

VII. Each nobleman and fellow-commoner, admitted within the period specified in the first ordinance, shall be subjected to

one other public examination in the senate-house, at some time in the year 1778, hereafter to be appointed.

VIII. The second examination of the noblemen and fellow-commoners, admitted as specified in the first ordinance, shall be held upon the fourth monday, tuesday, and wednesday in November 1778, from nine to twelve in the mornings, and from two to five in the afternoons of the monday and tuesday.

IX. Each nobleman and fellow-commoner, admitted as specified in the first ordinance, shall, at his second examination in 1778, be examined in Locke's Essay on the human understanding; natural philosophy; and modern history.

X. At the close of the second examination of the noblemen and fellow-commoners, admitted as before specified, the three examiners hereafter to be appointed, or the majority of them, shall declare, in a writing to be delivered to the vice-chancellor, which of the persons, then examined, appear upon the whole to be the best scholars, not distinguishing more than a third part, and

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placing the persons so distinguished according to their respective order of merit: such declaration shall be published by the vice-chancellor to the senate at the next following congregation, and copies thereof transmitted by him to the chancellor of the university, and sent to each college.

XI. Persons changing their order to become fellow-commoners shall, in the examinations, be classed with such, as are of the same standing with themselves by admission.

XII. Any nobleman and fellow-commoner, admitted as before specified, and having been resident, who shall absent himself from either of the preceding examinations, without sufficient reason, shall be publicly admonished, or subjected to such other academical censure, short of rustication, as the vice-chancellor and the two proctors, or the vice-chancellor with one proctor, shall think the case deserves. A reason, certified to the vice-chancellor by the master or locum-tenens of his college, and approved by the major part of the vice-chancellor and heads then resident, shall be deemed

deemed sufficient to excuse any person's absence from a whole examination. And a reason, approved by the major part of the examiners, hereafter to be appointed, shall be deemed sufficient to excuse any person's absence from any part of an examination.

XIII. The sanction, provided for the purpose of securing the attendance of noblemen and fellow-commoners, and the relief admitted under it, shall be extended to the case of pensioners and fizars, admitted as above, who shall absent themselves from the examinations in the year 1777.

XIV. In all future years after 1777, there shall be a public examination of such noblemen, fellow-commoners, pensioners, and fizars, as shall then be of equal standing with those intended to be examined in 1777, and the subjects and time shall be the same with those directed for 1777. There shall also be in every year, subsequent to the year 1778, a public examination of such noblemen and fellow-commoners as shall then be of equal standing with those intended to be examined in 1778, and the subjects and time shall be the same with those directed

for 1778. And in both the above examinations, the examiners hereafter to be appointed, shall make the same honorary distinctions as in the years 1777, and 1778, and attendance shall be secured by the same sanctions.

XV. Seven examiners, members of the senate, shall be annually appointed from the several colleges, in the order of the cycle of opponents in divinity: except only that Trinity-hall shall add an examiner every fifth year; and that these examiners shall either be the public tutors of each college, or appointed by them, in conjunction with the master. No appointment shall be valid, except the master, and one tutor, at least, concur in the nomination.

XVI. Where three colleges are laid together to provide one examiner, they shall have the appointment according to seniority of foundation. And the examiners, appointed according to this and the preceding ordinance, shall be presented to the vice-chancellor, on or before the eleventh of June every year.

XVII. At the first examination in November

ber 1777, all the examiners shall examine such students as shall then attend. At the examinations in November 1778, the three senior of the examiners shall examine the noblemen and fellow-commoners of the senior year; the other four or five, the students of the junior year, and so always.

XVIII. Besides the appointed examiners, every member of the senate shall be at liberty to examine.

XIX. Each of the examiners shall receive a gratuity of ten guineas, to be paid out of the university chest. Every nobleman and fellow-commoner, who shall be admitted after the date of this grace, shall pay, at his admission, two guineas, and every pensioner half a guinea, towards replacing in the chest such sums as shall be thence so issued. And all persons already admitted, and subjected to the above-mentioned examinations, shall be charged with the same payments at the close of the present quarter.

XX. The monies charged at the admissions of noblemen, fellow-commoners, and pensioners, shall be accounted for to the vice-chancellor, on the saturdays next before the days of examination, by their re-

pective tutors, who shall, at the same time, deliver lists of such of their pupils, as are to be examined, with the dates of their admissions.

N. B. The fourth, fifth, and sixth propositions are purposely so worded, as to suit with the first ordinance, in case the second and third should be rejected.

Cambridge, Dec. 20, 1775.

S E L E C T C A S E S
O F T H E
D I S O R D E R
C O M M O N L Y T E R M E D
T H E P A R A L Y S I S O F T H E L O W E R
E X T R E M I T I E S .

T O W H I C H I S A D D E D ,
A C A S E O F C A T A L E P S Y .

FIRST PUBLISHED MDCCLXXXII.
NOW RE-PRINTED
FROM THE SECOND EDITION,
MDCCLXXXIII.

TO PERCIVALL POTT, ESQ. F.R.S.
SENIOR SURGEON OF
ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL.

S I R,

AT an early period of my medical studies,
you pointed out the path to substantial
science; and your subsequent instructions
gratified that desire of knowledge, which
your exhortations had excited: favours en-
hanced by the manner of conferring them.
Permit me to testify my sense of obligation,
by inscribing the following pages to your
respected name. I remain

your obedient and

obliged servant,

JOHN JEBB.

Sept. 7, 1784

S E L E C T C A S E S, &c.

MR. POTT, in his tracts upon the paralysis of the lower extremities, having described the symptoms of that disorder, together with the appearances upon dissection, with his usual perspicuity and precision; having also recommended a mode of treatment, of which experience hath very fully demonstrated the success; it may perhaps appear an act of unjustifiable presumption to solicit the further attention of the public to a subject, commented upon by his masterly pen, and, therefore, it may be urged, already exhausted.

Every person, who, with a proper degree of attention, peruses the publications of that able writer, must observe, that the doctrines advanced in his treatises upon the injuries of the head, the hydrocele, and ruptures, although they are laid down with a degree of clearness and accuracy, of which we have but few examples, receive considerable light from the cases he has subjoined. In the
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medical art, general propositions are rendered more intelligible by a representation of the particular instances from which they were deduced. The doctrines advanced are impressed more forcibly on the understanding, while the circumstances of the case not unfrequently suggest reflections, that gratify the activity of our minds, and enable us to form deductions for ourselves.

It has frequently occurred to me, that much light and information might be derived to students in medicine, were the physicians of our hospitals more generally to imitate the manner pursued in the infirmary of Edinburgh. Were they to point out to their pupils such particular cases, as seemed most likely to afford opportunities of improvement: were they to encourage them to meet and to report the result of their inquiries into the symptoms of the disorder, the effect of the medicines, and the progress of the complaint to its fatal termination, or its cure: were they, lastly, from the various accounts of the students, and their own observations, to draw up regular and well-digested histories of such cases, as might ap-
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pear most deserving of attention, and insert them, properly authenticated, in the books of the hospital, such histories and details would be attended with public as well as private advantage; they would be analogous to the reports and year-books of our lawyers; to the recorded observations of the appearances in the heavens; and might be resorted to as authorities, and as evidences of nature's powers, and of nature's laws.

Instances frequently occur in hospitals, where, without offence and without difficulty, inquiries might be made into the original causes and seat of the disorder, by an examination of the appearances in the body after death. This is at present sometimes permitted, under proper restrictions; but the mode of conducting such inquiry admits of considerable improvement: the investigation should be more minute, and instituted under the immediate inspection of the attendant physician, assisted by a person accustomed to morbid dissections, and a proficient in the anatomical art. The appearances, submitted to the view of all the students, and accurately reported, should be properly authenticated,

thenticated, and inserted in the opposite page to the history of the symptoms and the mode of treatment : a form of procedure, which would conduce more, than possibly may occur upon the first reflection, to the establishment of the art of medicine upon a solid, because truly philosophical, foundation. *

The cases now offered to the public, are not proposed, in any respect, as models of the plan I would recommend ; they are transcribed from note-books, wherein the symptoms and appearances were set down without any further view than my own private

* I would add, that if an accurate register were kept of some of the capital operations, such as lithotomy, the application of the trephine, the operations for the bubo-nocle, the cataract, &c. many substantial advantages would be derived to the medical and surgical art. The frequency of these operations in hospitals, the masterly manner in which they are generally performed, and the detail of well-authenticated circumstances which might, with so much facility, be included in the report, would enable us to form a nearer approximation to certainty, with respect to the comparative merit of different operations, and the general result of the disorder, than could possibly be expected from the observations of unconnected individuals, however great their abilities, however extensive their practice.

vate reflection and improvement. Neither have I the presumption to imagine, that it is in my power to suggest any new ideas upon the present subject. However, as the cases subjoined were taken with fidelity and care, as some of them were under the immediate management of Mr. Pott, when he composed his treatises, the relation of them may possibly tend to confirm his theory, and explain the reasons of his practice.

In conformity to the principles upon which the inimitable nosology of Dr. Cullen is founded, I will, in the history of these cases, confine myself solely to evident symptoms, and the patient's narrative; being fully satisfied, that to describe disorders according to the forms in which they really evidence themselves to the senses, with a careful attention to the patient's feelings, is the most likely method of acquiring both a knowledge of their causes and of their cure.

C A S E I.

T. C. aged thirty-two, originally of an healthy constitution, was admitted a patient in St. Bartholomew's hospital in November

1777.

1777. He sometimes complained of a pain, but generally of a numbness, at the margin of the thorax, under the cartilages of the ninth and tenth ribs of the left-side, with a cough, spitting, and shortened respiration, when he lay on that side; the spinal process of the seventh or eighth dorsal vertebra was considerably protuberant; his belly was prominent and flaccid, with a numbness extending itself over the whole abdomen, and great debility of the musculi obliqui and transversales, whenever he voluntarily attempted to contract them; a sensation of chillness prevailed in his knees, with a want of feeling in the fore part of his legs, and an inability of drawing them up in bed.

To these symptoms were added twitchings in the flexors of his legs, and numbness of the feet, a jarring sensation in the tendo Achillis of one foot, and transient pains in both, which, with the chillness, proceeded, as he conceived, and repeatedly declared, not from the protuberant part of the spine, but the lumbar vertebra immediately above the os sacrum:

The quickness of the pulse, the florid appearance

pearance of his countenance, and state of respiration, strongly suggested the idea of hectic fever prevailing in the system.

These affections, with a numbness of the sphincter ani, costiveness, and a want of consciousness when his faeces were ejected, completed the catalogue of his complaints.

Upon repeated inquiries, he constantly declared, that he did not recollect any strain, or other accident, to which he could ascribe his present sufferings.

It appeared that it was nearly three years since his disorder commenced. His first complaint was a rheumatic affection in the side, which was cured by gum guaiacum. About this period he imagined he got cold, a pain and soreness in the small of his back succeeding to that complaint, and a sense of inward weakness in his breast. These symptoms were exasperated by a cough; numbness of the abdomen followed next in order, with a gradual accession of the other symptoms, until he was confined to his bed.

Before the application of the caustics he made trial of the cold-bath, mercurial frictions, tinctura sacra, volatile liniment, a

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strengthening plaister to the loins, and the screw-chair, without any good effect whatever. The cold-bath and screw-chair were evidently hurtful.

The caustics being applied, according to Mr. Pott's directions, on each side of the protuberance, soon produced a sensible effect; the twitchings in his thighs and legs were increased, and in some degree sensation and voluntary motion were restored in his feet; but the advances to a perfect cure were not very rapid during the first six months.

He next recovered the power of expelling flatus per anum: during this period the curvature appeared to diminish: the numbness in his insteps remained for many months; but, at length, all his complaints wore off, his former state of health returned, and he intirely recovered his former vigour.

C A S E II.

R. B. aged twenty-one, was admitted into St. Bartholomew's hospital in June, 1778. A protuberance being observed in the spine, the caustics were applied in the
course

course of the following month. At that time, he lay totally deprived of the use of his lower extremities, which were rigid, and almost intirely insensible, an imperfect feeling remaining only in the *plantæ pedum* and the knees. Transitory twitchings and tremblings prevailed at times, with general rigors, as in the cold fit of an ague; his fæces came away without his knowledge, his urine flowed without his consent, a violent pain in his bowels preceding its evacuation. He was also affected with numbness below the navel. He complained at times of a pain in his side, with spitting, and a constant uneasiness under the sternum.

His strength at this time was much wasted, in consequence of two large sores on his hips of more than eight inches diameter, accompanied with exfoliations of the great trochanters. A symptom somewhat singular was observed in his case. For about a month before the date of his admission, he was affected with a convulsive motion in the second finger of one of his hands.

From his account of the origin and progress of the disorder, I collected as follows :

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About two years before his admission into the hospital, he fell from a hay-loft; his loins received the force of the fall; he recovered himself in a few minutes, and for three months felt no kind of complaint.

At the close of this period he began to be sensible of a pain in the eighth or ninth dorsal vertebra, the spinal process of which became soon after protuberant; the pain was apparently of the rheumatic kind, being worse when he was warm in bed, and recurring after having caught cold. At this time he also found his ability in raising heavy bodies diminished, and his powers of motion impeded.

In a year and a half after the accident, his pain increasing, in consequence, as he thought, of a cold, he applied to a surgeon for advice, who ordered an embrocation for his back. In a few days afterwards he felt a pain descending from the protuberant vertebra, in the course of the spine, and of the ischiatic and the crural nerves, affecting the thigh, the ham, and the gastrocnemii muscles to his heel. This pain soon vanished, and never afterwards returned; the weakness
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and the numbness rapidly increased after this sensation, until, in the course of four days, he was reduced to the helpless situation in which I found him.

He continued in this weak state for many months, his pulse beating generally 140, and, at one time, 180 strokes in a minute. The issues evidently produced some effect; at times there was a transient recurrency of sensation in his feet; but nature being exhausted by the discharge from his ulcerated hips, his general health being also impaired from inward disease, he gradually sunk under his complaint.

I much regretted, that an opportunity was not allowed by his friends of examining into the state of the parts.

C A S E III.

13. R. H. aged nineteen, was admitted into St. Bartholomew's hospital in December, 1777.

At the time of his admission he complained of pain in the muscles of his thighs, and the fore part of his legs, which sensibly grew worse at night. His knees and ankles

were extremely feeble. He walked with great difficulty and pain, but had never been affected with the usual symptoms of numbness or chillness in his lower extremities, during any period of his disorder. He felt a soreness under the short ribs of both sides, which was much exasperated by a troublesome cough. From the parts thus affected, lancinating pains frequently proceeded down his thighs, which more particularly distressed him when he lay on his belly : his pulse was tolerably strong, but very irregular. He was also much emaciated : a white and viscid mucus was frequently expectorated, particularly in a morning ; his general debility continually increased.

The spinal process of the ninth or tenth dorsal vertebra was very protuberant ; but he conceived the pain and weakness to proceed from a point considerably below that protuberance.

Upon my examination into the cause and progress of his complaints, he informed me that they were the consequence of a strain received, about a year before his admission, from his foot slipping while he was ascending

ing a ladder with a sack of oats: he felt a sudden shock affect the part which became afterwards protuberant: he perceived no immediate inconvenience, but proceeded in his business as before.

About two months after the accident, having been exposed through the whole of an inclement night to the cold, he was taken with a shivering, and felt a rheumatic pain suddenly seize the part first affected by the shock; a second fit of shivering, with pains at the bottom of his belly, took place within six weeks after the first; the protuberance now became apparent, and gradually increased, with debility and the symptoms already described.

Within a month after the application of the caustics, he grew evidently better: his pains grew less troublesome, his strength gradually increased, until, at the close of about seven months, he was dismissed, perfectly free from all complaint.

C A S E IV.

3. R. S. aged ten years. He received a blow on the pit of the stomach, about twelve
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months before the application of the caustics. He fell in consequence of the stroke, but recovered himself in a few minutes, and felt no inconvenience for some days.

About a week after the accident, he began to be sensible of weakness in his limbs: at the close of the following fortnight, the spinal process of the second dorsal vertebra became a little protuberant; and in three weeks more, his complaints had increased with so much rapidity, that the use of his lower extremities was intirely lost, and all sensation in them totally extinct: they were also rigid, the feet being pointed downwards, as if the gastrocnemii muscles were in a state of spasm. He had been under the care of Dr. Pitcairn for above nine months, who attended to his case with singular humanity; but having prescribed various medicines and applications, without the wished-for success, at length he recommended him to the care of Mr. Pott. When the caustics were ordered, the disease occupied five or six of the vertebræ of the back, which was bent into an uniform curve: the patient's chin rested on his breast; and the appearance

ance was so unpromising, that Mr. Pott declared, he was induced to make trial of the caustics, merely because he would leave nothing undone in a case so truly deplorable, but that he scarcely could expect any advantage from their use.

In about a month from the time of application of the caustics, he acquired the power of moving the great toe of one of his feet ; he was exhorted to attempt the motion of the other, by exerting repeated acts of volition, which in a little time he also accomplished. I was particularly attentive to the progress of the cure for many months. The pointed position of his feet long remained. However, without the use of any medicine, the power of motion of the ankle-joint was at length regained. The curvature of his back gradually decreased ; and at the close of about ten months from the time of applying the caustics, having recovered the entire use and vigour of his limbs, he was discharged in perfect health.

C A S E V.

3. J. R. admitted a patient in St. Bartholomew's

lomey's hospital, in May, 1779. He informed me, that for four years before this period, his left side was hurt, in consequence of a fall from an horse: that he was not blooded immediately upon the accident; but feeling a pain there three months afterwards, he then was blooded, and the pain thereby for a time intirely removed.

In about half a year the pain returned. A blister was then applied to the affected part. Upon washing his feet with cold water, he perceived the pain strike to his loins, in which place he continued constantly to feel it to the day of his admission. A weakness commenced in his limbs about three years after the date of the accident, for which he took various remedies, without effect: this weakness terminated at length in the intire loss of the use of his lower extremities. He went to Bath; and after a stay of several months, returned, without having received any benefit whatever from the waters.

Suspecting the cause of his complaint, from his history and apparent symptoms, I examined the spine previously to his admission

sion, and discovered a protuberance of the fourth or fifth dorsal vertebra, which, before that period, had not been noticed, either by himself or those who had attended him. He had now been troubled with a cough for many months: his stools were involuntary, his bladder was not emptied without great exertions; his legs were frequently drawn upwards with violence, at other times agitated with convulsive tremors; he invariably conceived the cause of his disorder to be seated in the loins.

It was somewhat singular in this man's case, that whenever his legs were violently affected with the spasms, he also felt an hysterical sensation in his throat, a lump seeming to have arisen there which impeded deglutition.

The caustics were immediately applied upon each side of the protuberant vertebra. He lay in bed with wonderful patience for eighteen weeks, without perceiving the minutest alteration in the symptoms of his complaint; Mr. Pott, who paid remarkable attention to his case, repeatedly encouraging him to persevere. At length, upon one
of

of my visits to him, he informed me, with strong expressions of joy, that on that day, for the first time, he found himself able to move one of his toes. This unexpected alteration in his symptoms was followed by others equally pleasing, until, in the course of about eight months, he intirely recovered; the difficulty of expelling his urine was the last symptom that disappeared.

C A S E VI.

M. B. a woman, aged forty-seven, was admitted into St. Bartholomew's hospital, in February, 1779.

She related, that her complaints originated from a strain, received in consequence of an extraordinary exertion of strength, about four months before the date of her admission. A violent flooding was the immediate effect. To this succeeded a loss of the use of the lower extremities, and a protuberance in the spine. She laboured also under disorders of the stomach and bowels, apparently independent of that, which had produced the curvature, and paralytic affections. For this reason, as well as from some doubts I entertained

tertaincd, respecting the assigned date of the derangement in her spine, I have omitted the further mention of particular symptoms. I have selected the case, however, as deserving of attention, on account of some singularities in the appearances after death.

The caustics were applied, but produced no alteration in her symptoms. She gradually sunk under her complicated complaints.

Upon opening the abdomen, we discovered many conglobate glands, in the vicinity of the pancreas considerably enlarged, and of a similar consistency to what is observed in scrofulous subjects. Scrofulous tubercles were apparent also on the surface of the liver, to which viscus there was a very large scirrhus appendage, that descended as low as the crista of the os iliûm.

Upon inspection of the spine, we discovered that a gristly substance of the size and shape of a turkey's egg, and of superior firmness to most scirrhi, formed the protuberance observed before death. It occupied the places of the spinal, articular, and transverse processes of three vertebræ of the
back,

back, which processes, from some remains in a corroded state, appeared to have been gradually destroyed by the enlargement of the scirrhus: the spongy bodies of these vertebræ alone escaped. This scirrhus mass lay in contact with the spinal marrow. The capitula of two or three of the ribs on each side were also much corroded. In such circumstances, it will not appear surprising that the caustics should have failed in producing their customary effects.*

C A S E VII.

J. D. was admitted into St. Bartholomew's hospital in February 1779.

He appeared to suffer much from a scalding of his water, which incessantly dribbled from him. He complained also of great languor and debility, particularly in his knees and back, and numbness in his feet; a white mucous sediment appeared in his urine:

* I beg leave to refer my readers, on this occasion, to a very instructive case, (in which the paralytic symptoms evidently arose from a substance of softer texture, pressing upon the spinal marrow,) inserted in the third volume of "Medical observations and inquiries," p. 160, &c.

urine : an obstinate costiveness, with frequent tenesmus, shortness of breath, a cough, loss of appetite, and want of rest, accompanied these complaints.

He related, that his disorder originated from a strain which he received from carrying an heavy load, about seven years before the time of his application for relief. Upon examination of the spine, one of the lumbar vertebræ appeared considerably protuberant : upon further inquiry, two fistulous orifices were discovered ; one in the thigh, the other in the groin of the opposite side, from which pus was almost constantly discharged. From the depth and direction of these fistulæ, and the patient's history of his disorder, no doubt was entertained of the source of this discharge being seated in the loins.

The caustics were applied, but he died in a few days, perfectly exhausted, before any advantage could possibly have been derived from their use.

An opportunity was not indulged of inspecting the parts.

From reflecting upon this case, and some others I have met with of a similar nature,

I have

I have been led to conclude, that, in those instances of the distempered spine, where a protuberance, evidencing a mechanical derangement of the parts, is connected with the paralysis of the lower extremities, the purulent matter, generated while the caries is advancing, is prevented from escaping downwards by the thick ligamentous substance that covers the corpora vertebrarum; and that this fluid, thus detained, assists in the further corrosion of those parts. Hence the subsequent inflection of the spine, and the protuberance accounted for in so satisfactory a manner by Mr. Pott. In other cases it may be supposed, that the matter, formed by ulceration, either originates on the outside of the ligamentous covering of the spine, or else bursts from its confinement within that aponeurotic expansion, and making its way in the course of the psoæ muscles, produces that peculiar form of the disorder, to which the name of lumbar abscess is assigned.

Upon mentioning this idea, about two years ago, to a surgeon of eminence in this town, he shewed me the vertebræ of a person

son who had been cured of a lumbar abscess, and afterwards died of a different complaint. Two or three of the anterior processes of the lumbar vertebræ had evidently been carious; but an anchylosis had taken place, laminæ of the ossific matter uniting the vertebræ, and consolidating them into an inflexible mass.*

With respect to the treatment of lumbar abscesses, it may perhaps be impossible to point out any mode of treatment whatever which shall prove successful. It may not, however, be improper to observe, that if the abscess be opened with a knife, the quantity of surface exposed to the air induces that degree of hectic fever, under which the patient generally sinks; nature, according to the just conception of Mr. Hunter,

* Mr. Sheldon, surgeon, deservedly celebrated for his anatomical abilities, favoured me with the sight of the vertebræ of a man, who had laboured under two lumbar abscesses at the same time. The bodies of the third and fourth vertebræ of the loins, the spinal processes of which had been very protuberant in the living subject, were nearly destroyed by ulceration, and the nerves, issuing through the foramina of the spine, in part obliterated by the ravages of the disease.

Hunter, being exhausted by her exertions in attempting a cure of what it transcends her power to effect.

In such circumstances, would it not be reasonable to open an outlet for the collected fluid, as soon as the fluctuating tumor in the groin, and other symptoms, shall ascertain the nature of the complaint, by means of a caustic applied to the most depending part; and, at the same time, to form large issues on each side of the spinal processes of the first or second vertebra of the loins? Thus might the matter already collected be gradually evacuated, without hazard of the mischief generally attendant upon the exposure of a large internal surface to the free admission of the air, and, at the same time, the cure of the injured vertebræ be promoted by the establishment of a new irritation, or drain, in the vicinity of the original disease.

I am inclined to believe, that many cases occur not unlike to what I have just described, and others of a nature apparently dissimilar, in which the timely application of the caustics would prevent the melancholy train of evils, attributed frequently, in
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the first stage, to other causes, but, in fact, derived from a distempered spine. A careful attention to symptoms and dissections may perhaps hereafter afford us the means of detecting the latent mischief in its first access, and thus enable us to prescribe a rational and effectual mode of cure.

C A S E VIII.

T. R. was admitted into St. Bartholomew's hospital in October, 1778.

He complained of a weakness in his lower extremities, for which, during a course of ten weeks, a great variety of nervous medicines was prescribed, without effect. No derangement during this period was suspected in his spine.

The disorder now rapidly advancing, his case was more accurately inquired into; a considerable degree of protuberance was discovered in three of the dorsal vertebræ, and the caustics were applied. At this time, the use of the lower extremities was intirely lost; the disorder had proceeded to its final stage. He died within three weeks after the nature of his disorder was ascertained, and before it

was possible for the caustics to have produced any sensible effect.

In his narrative he declared, that he did not recollect any strain, or probable cause of his disorder. The first symptom was a numbness, which suddenly seized his left instep, affecting him with the sensation of an heavy body striking that part: a weakness followed in both his knees; a rigidity of the lower extremities ensued, with a total insensibility of those parts. He complained also of a sharp pain in the right side of the thorax, proceeding from the affected vertebra. He never lost the power of excreting his urine or his stools.

The following account of the appearances after death is drawn up, partly from my own papers, partly from the papers of a gentleman of great medical abilities, who attended the dissection.*

The body being placed with the face downwards, a rectangular portion of the spine, containing six or seven vertebræ, with the three that were protuberant in the middle,
were

* Dr. Beerenbrock.

were removed by the saw. Immediately under them was lodged about half a pint of fætid discoloured fluid, contained in a pouch, and in contact with the bodies of the vertebræ, which was prevented from entering into the cavity of the thorax by the aponeurotic expansion covering the spine. The bodies of two of the vertebræ were separated from the other processes of those vertebræ, and, together with the intervening cartilages, were almost intirely dissolved into a liquid cretaceous substance. The vertebræ immediately contiguous had received but little injury, although their bodies were exposed to the fluid contained in the pouch: the aponeurotic expansion confining the fluid was much thickened; its colour almost black.

The medulla spinalis appeared perfectly sound. The dura mater, where it lay exposed to the matter, was also black, but not eroded, except that a small aperture, as if made with a lancet, was discerned on one side, through which it was supposed the fluid of the abscess had penetrated, so as to press upon the spinal marrow itself. A por-

tion of two or three of the dorsal nerves on one side, in the place where they issue between the vertebræ, was totally destroyed. The capitula of the corresponding ribs were also exposed and considerably eroded.

C A S E IX.

In the beginning of the year 1779, I attended a boy about seven years of age, who laboured under the symptoms of obstruction in the mesenteric glands. His belly was prominent and hard, his stools were slimy, and he was much reduced in consequence of an hectic fever, attended with cough, loss of appetite, and restlessness. His manner of walking was awkward and irregular; and he frequently complained of a pain in the thigh of the right side, and a violent itching in the groin.

Upon surveying the spine, I observed that species of inflexion to which nosologists give the name of scoliosis; and upon a second examination, some weeks afterwards, a slight degree of protuberance of the tenth or eleventh dorsal vertebra began to disclose itself.

I had

I had tried some of the ordinary remedies prescribed in scrofulous cases, before the protuberance was discerned, without much success. Upon the discovery of this appearance, I earnestly recommended the use of the caustics, according to Mr. Pott's directions, but my remonstrances were in vain. At the end of eighteen months, I saw this child bent almost double, the use of the lower extremities utterly lost, and with all the symptoms of approaching dissolution, which took place in the course of a few days.

I am much inclined to believe that this child might have been saved by an application of the caustics, immediately upon the discovery of the protuberance in the spine.

Since the time of my attendance upon the preceding case, I have very frequently seen children, nearly of the same age, labouring under similar complaints, which I have reason to presume were derived from the same source. In some the lumbar vertebræ were evidently protuberant; in others, a small degree of protuberance might be observed in the lower vertebræ of the back, attended

with pain upon the slightest touch. In all these cases, there was a considerable promi-
nency of the belly, and other signs of ob-
struction in the glandular system. Is it not,
therefore, reasonable to suppose, that one
of the conglobate glands, of which many
are found in the vicinity of the lumbar ver-
tebræ, may frequently be the original seat
of the disease, and that from thence the ul-
ceration is extended to the vertebræ them-
selves?

In other cases, there is ground for suspi-
cion, that the bodies of the vertebræ, or the
intervertebral substance, are primarily af-
fected, the same scrofulous disposition in-
ducing this distemper, which is known so
frequently to affect the acetabulum of the
thigh, the joints of the elbow, and the knee,
with the corresponding ligaments; disorders,
to which the name of white swelling is com-
monly assigned.

When this disorder affects the eyes, or
such of the conglobate glands as evidence
themselves to the touch, the nature of the
complaint is quickly perceived, and issues are
ordered with singular advantage. With equal
propriety

propriety, surely, may similar drains be recommended in the neighbourhood of the diseased parts, when the joints are affected, whether they be the joints of the extremities, or the articulations of the spine.

The paralysis of the lower extremities, with a debility in the functions of the bladder and the rectum, which take place when the spine is the seat of scrofula, are the mere effects of the disorder, occupying the vicinity of large portions of that substance, which is the proper seat of sensibility and voluntary power ; and, therefore, ought by no means to enter into the definition of the disease. Not only an erroneous description of a disorder, but even the assigning of an improper name to a complaint, as Mr. Pott has repeatedly observed, leads to an improper treatment of that disorder ; and thus the art of medicine often perpetuates the evils, which it is its object to remove. In consequence of such misconception, I have frequently seen the whole class of nervous medicines employed, and the Bath waters prescribed, to relieve the paralysis of the lower extremities ; when, after the cause of the
disorder

disorder was detected, it was obvious that they must necessarily have aggravated the disease : and I am very much inclined to believe that many other disorders, reputed nervous, are the effects of complaints merely local, and are frequently derived from some affections of the viscera of the abdomen, for which medicines of a very different operation should be prescribed.

C A S E X.

In the course of the last year, I was desired to visit a person who laboured under an obstinate costiveness, and a complaint in his bladder. Upon my arrival at his house, I found that he had had no evacuation by stool for the last fortnight, and that for six months past, his urine, which abounded with a yellow sediment of a purulent appearance, came involuntarily from him, and without his perception. He complained much of spasms, and of pains affecting his calves, his ancles, the soles and the great toes of his feet, which were very excruciating when he sat up in bed. He felt the operation of medicines in the upper part of his

his

his bowels: in the lower, numbness prevailed. It was with difficulty that he retained either food or medicine on his stomach; his pulse was languid, and his whole appearance evidenced him to be on the verge of dissolution, which in a few days afterwards took place.

Upon inquiry into his history and preceding symptoms, he informed me, that fourteen years ago he had received a bruise from being pressed between two carriages, which had caused a vomiting of blood. That for three or four years past, he had felt painful sensations in his loins, from which period he dated the commencement of the disorder in his bladder.

On account of the pains in his feet, his complaints were treated as proceeding from rheumatism or the gout, and Bath waters were prescribed, but no advantage was derived from their use.

About a month before I saw him, a slight degree of fullness was observed in the region of the os sacrum; but it was never suspected, that the original cause of his disorder was seated in that part.

Under

Under a full persuasion, that some concealed mischief in the neighbourhood of the os sacrum was the source of his complaints, after having procured an evacuation by the help of castor oil, I directed caustics to be applied to the protuberant part; but he died before any separation of the sloughs had taken place.

Upon examination of the body after death, the colon, from its commencement to the beginning of the rectum, appeared considerably enlarged, and much distended with fæces; the bladder also was greatly enlarged, its muscular coat præternaturally thickened, and its inner surface fasciculated; but no ulcer, erosion, or any other injury whatever was discerned.

Upon examination of the os sacrum, an uncommon derangement presented itself to the sight, exhibiting the immediate source of the patient's complicated complaints; the posterior surface of that bone was separated intirely by caries from the anterior: the distemper had also penetrated deep in its substance, having nearly obliterated those processes of the spinal marrow, which form
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the ischiatic nerve, and greatly injured the spinal marrow itself.

Upon an accurate survey, every other part of the spine, and all the viscera, both of the thorax and abdomen, appeared perfectly sound.

Although it was the main object and design of this publication, to illustrate and confirm, as far as my feeble powers would admit, the doctrine of that able practitioner, who has deserved so much of his country and mankind; yet, in the selection of the preceding cases, and the enumeration of the symptoms, attendant upon the various stages of this calamitous disorder, it was also my design to afford materials, for an early investigation of the frequently concealed source of complaints, differenced from each other in their outward form; in origin substantially the same. I have a similar end in view in the remaining pages of this tract, in which I shall, with fidelity, report such other particulars, as seem worthy of attention, selected from a great variety of cases, which fell within my immediate observation;

tion ; the narrative first in order forming the only exception to this rule.

The history, of which the following is an abstract, was communicated to me with such circumstances of credibility, as would not permit me to doubt of the accuracy of the report.

C A S E XI.

AB. A boy, about twelve years of age, received a blow from a stone, which struck his loins. In the evening of the same day he was seized with a shivering, which lasted about five minutes ; a fever succeeded, which ran high during the night, but abated towards the morning. At the same period of time, a contraction of his legs took place, attended with great debility of his lower extremities. He complained of pains all over him, but more particularly in his stomach and the small of his back.

As the accident, which gave occasion to these symptoms, was not known to the friends of the patient, the disorder was treated as a feverish complaint. It sometimes remitted ; at other times, a perfect intermission

sion of the feverish symptoms took place. The power of moving his limbs was daily diminished, until, at the close of ten days from the time of the accident, he was utterly incapable of lifting them from the ground. At this period no swelling was perceptible on his back.

In about a month after the time of receiving the injury, his situation was truly deplorable: his appetite was lost, his pulse was quick and feeble: he was affected with a cough and purging, and the facies Hippocratia was evident to an extreme degree.

At this time a lump was discovered, about the size of a large egg, not much inflamed, nor very painful, which comprehended the second and third vertebræ of the loins, not unlike a beginning abscess.

A large incision was made into the tumour, and two beans inserted: a kindly suppuration took place on the third day, and, at the end of a week, he was considerably better; his countenance was more enlivened, his pulse improved, and the power of moving his limbs in part regained.

The issue discharging freely, the swelling gradually

gradually abated, and, in the space of a month, intirely difappeared.

The iffues were dried up fooner than the gentleman who attended had directed. At the end of three months he was able to walk a confiderable diftance with little inconvenience, but every material change of weather very fenfibly affected him.

Few instances, hitherto obferved, more ftrongly point out the operation and advantage of the iffues.

C A S E XII.

A labouring man, for a length of time, had been afflicted with the ordinary fymptoms, attendant upon an evidently diftempered fpine. He was admitted into St. Bartholomew's hofpital, and the cauftics were applied, according to the prefcribed mode. At the end of a few months he fo far recovered, that he left the hofpital, and returned to his work. The diforder returning, in confequence of too early an application to his employment, he a fecond time petitioned for affiftance: the cauftics were a fecond time directed; but being applied by a per-
fon,

son, not under the immediate inspection of Mr. Pott, about three inches below the protuberance, they produced no effect, though continued for many weeks. At length, upon the remonstrance of a gentleman better acquainted with Mr. Pott's mode of treatment, they were renewed in the former place. The effect was quickly visible. At the conclusion of two months, the patient was discharged in perfect health.

C A S E XIII.

A girl was admitted into St. Bartholomew's hospital, afflicted with the disorder, termed St. Vitus's dance. Some of the vertebræ of the neck were very protuberant. The caustics were applied, and, from the effects produced by their use, it was evident the convulsive symptoms were derived from a distempered spine. At the close of a shorter period than is usual in these cases, she left the hospital, free from her complaint.

C A S E XIV.

I lately attended a lady, of a very delicate frame, who was frequently affected

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with pains in the stomach, nausea, soreness of the sternum, languors, hysteric risings, numbness, and cramps in the legs and feet. Her complaints, for the course of several years, were attributed to the gout; at length a protuberance was discovered in the spine: upon further inquiry it appeared, that this protuberance had subsisted for some years. She complained also of weakness in her ancles, want of feeling in her hands, and sensations as if one side was upon the point of becoming paralytic, and a constant pain in the small of her back; the protuberant spinal processes of the affected vertebræ were tender to the touch. I advised the application of the caustics, but my remonstrances, as has happened not unfrequently in similar circumstances, have hitherto been urged in vain.

In the course of my attendance at St. Bartholomew's hospital, and also in my private practice, I have not unfrequently met with complaints, arising from a great variety of assigned causes, which bore a strong analogy to some of the preceding cases. In several
patients

patients of a delicate habit of body, who in early life had experienced scrofulous complaints, I have observed the joints of the knees to be feeble, swollen, and painful; the articulations also of the spine were similarly affected, many of them evidencing great sensibility upon the gentlest touch, and in a slight degree protuberant. Palpitations of the heart, incontinence of urine, general debility, and irregular pains in the legs and feet, have accompanied these symptoms. In other instances, these pains have been termed rheumatic, by the patients or their friends, and have been attributed to the effects of cold. I have often had reason to believe, that these complaints were the consequences of venereal indulgences; and that, after exhibiting the appearances of the disorder, described by Lommius* and other authors, under the name of "Tabes Dorsalis," they sometimes terminate in a paralysis of the lower extremities and a carious spine.

In some of the cases which have fallen under my observation, the symptoms, during the early stages of the disorder, were

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* Vide Lommii Observat. medicinal. p. 216.

conceived to be owing to the gravel, or to rheumatism in the loins; and, in two or three instances, to the gout. This, perhaps unavoidable, misconception in the cause of the disorder, naturally led to a mode of treatment, from which the patient not only received no advantage, but was also subjected to the hazard of losing the season, in which the rational mode of cure could be productive of a salutary effect.

In two or three instances I have observed, that the termination of fever has been attended with circumstances, that seemed to indicate an inflammation and consequent abscess, either in the spine itself, or its vicinity; but this I offer merely as matter of conjecture, not having sufficient authority, either from dissections or the effect of caustics, to assert the fact.

When I first attended to this subject, I was inclined to believe that those parts alone, whose nerves are derived from the spinal marrow, below the injured vertebræ, or from its immediate vicinity, were affected with numbness, pain, paralysis, or spasm; but many cases have lately been observed in
the

the hospital I attend, and others I have seen in private practice, in which the upper extremities have been affected, although the disorder occupied parts of the spine, considerably beneath the origins of the axillary plexus. I conceive it would not be a matter of difficulty to explain this fact, as well as many others of a similar kind, from the doctrine lately advanced by the ingenious Scarpa, respecting the nature and use of the ganglions of the nerves, and the consequent prevalence of sympathy in the nervous system; but it would be a departure from my purpose to introduce theoretical disquisitions into an essay merely practical. Whether the following case can be urged as an evidence of the fact, I will not positively determine; the detail of it, however, may perhaps answer some purposes of no less importance.

C A S E XV.

R. I. aged twenty-four years, was admitted into St. Bartholomew's hospital in May, 1781.

Every attention possible was afforded to his case by the physician. The following

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remedies

remedies were prescribed: Mithridat. cum spir. Minder. pil. aromatic—rad. val. sylv. p. femin. sinap. aa dr. j. cum decoct. cort.—baln. frigid.—julep. volat.—ol. e pedibus bovin.—tinct. guaiac. volat. ter die—infus. lenit. pro re natà—haust. oleos. cum mannâ—enema Terebinth.—ol. ricini, sextis horis.

At the close of six weeks from the date of his admission, upon the recommendation of the attending physician, he was examined by Mr. Pott. The tenth vertebra of the back was found considerably protuberant.

The following is an abstract of his symptoms at this period:

He lay constantly on his back, unable to turn himself in bed, and almost intirely deprived of the use of all his limbs. His legs, six or seven times in an hour, were drawn upwards with convulsive twitchings, his great toes and fingers being also agitated with spasms. His head, at the same time, was drawn violently backward; all these convulsive motions were attended with considerable anxiety. Numbness prevailed in his loins, his knees, and feet. The sense of feeling and powers of motion were destroyed

stroyed in almost every part of his frame: his abdomen was swollen and hard: an obstinate costiveness and difficulty of making water were superadded to these sufferings; a violent pain was felt in the protuberant vertebra, when he was under the influence of the spasms.

It appeared from his history, that he had been affected with the lues, and for some years past had been very much devoted to venereal indulgences.

The first symptom that alarmed him, was a stiffness in his neck, which came upon him suddenly in the night, about three months before the time of his admission. At the end of two months from the first seizure, his right leg began to be affected. The cold-bath was prescribed at this period, which aggravated his complaints. He gradually grew worse till a general coldness prevailed through the whole system, and every part of his frame was affected with paralysis or spasm.

The application of the caustics was attended with very little advantage: through a defect of the vital power, they occasioned

no pain; and it was with difficulty nature effected a separation of the sloughs: his distressing symptoms continued till his death, which took place in about two months after the nature of his complaint was ascertained.

In two or three instances, I have observed the upper cervical vertebræ affected. In one of these, a collection of matter was found in the vicinity of the second vertebra, commonly termed *dentata*. The unhappy sufferer, upon every motion of his head, felt a pain descend in the course of the spinal marrow, with general numbness, and sometimes pricking pains at the extremities of his toes and fingers.

I am sensible that the credit of a remedy frequently successful is often impaired by its injudicious, or too extensive application, yet, seeing every reason to conclude with Mr. Pott, that the advantage gained from the caustics is, in a great measure, owing to the new irritation, or discharge, occasioned by them in the vicinity of the affected part, I cannot omit this opportunity of recommending their use in many idiopathic affections of the head.

Issues

Issues in the neck have frequently been advised, in cases of apoplexy and palsy, by physicians and surgeons of the greatest name. It is to be wished, that the effects of caustics in removing the distressing symptoms, attendant upon a distempered spine, may lead practitioners to a more general application of this remedy, when the primary source of sensation and motion is the seat of the complaint.

I am persuaded, that if all the cases of a distempered spine, which have occurred during the last five years at St. Bartholomew's hospital, were faithfully and circumstantially reported, great advantage would be derived to medical knowledge, and the mode of treatment, recommended by Mr. Pott, be still more evidently demonstrated. The interests of truth have nothing to apprehend from the keenness of investigation, and the utmost severity of human judgment. I should, therefore, wish to see the doctrine, advanced by that accomplished practitioner, further discussed, convinced, that its harmony with truth and reason would

would be established by an appeal to fact: the hospitals of this metropolis and kingdom would afford too many opportunities of ascertaining this point.

I am sensible that the preceding details are in many respects imperfect: from an hope, however, that they may not be altogether unuseful, they are, with deference, submitted to the indulgent candour of the public.

It remains that I subjoin the result of my own experience and observation on this subject.

The general conclusions, suggested by the preceding cases, and above twice the number of others, to which I have afforded a distinct attention, are as follows :

1. That the caustics, which were indiscriminately applied in every stage of the disease, were the efficient means of cure in a majority of the cases: and that they generally succeeded, when the case could, with propriety, be termed a fair one.

2. That in the remainder, with two or three exceptions, they produced an evident effect

effect in restoring sensibility and some degree of motion.

3. That in the unsuccessful cases, the patients died exhausted by hectic fever, and the genuine effects of the distemper, and did not appear to be prejudiced, in the remotest degree, by the application of the caustics.

A P P E N D I X,

CASE OF CATALEPSY.

ALTHOUGH the subjoined history has no connection with the preceding cases, I trust the perusal of it will not be unpleasing to my readers, as it relates to a disorder of unfrequent occurrence in ordinary practice.

In the latter end of the last year, I was desired to visit a young lady, who, for nine months, had been afflicted with that singular disorder termed “a catalepsy.” Although she was prepared for my visit, she was seized with the disorder as soon as my arrival was announced. She was employed in netting, and was passing the needle through the mesh; in which position she immediately became rigid, exhibiting, in a very pleasing form, a figure of death-like sleep, beyond the power of art to imitate, or the imagination to conceive. Her forehead was serene, her features perfectly composed. The pale-
ness

ness of her colour, her breathing at a distance being also scarce perceptible, operated in rendering the similitude to marble more exact and striking. The position of her fingers, hands, and arms, was altered with difficulty; but they preserved every form of flexure they acquired: nor were the muscles of the neck exempted from this law; her head maintaining every situation, in which the hand could place it, as firmly as her limbs.

Upon gently raising the eyelids, they immediately closed, with a degree of spasm. The iris contracted upon the approach of a candle, as in a state of vigilance; the eyeball itself was slightly agitated with a tremulous motion, not discernible when the eyelid had descended.

About half an hour after my arrival, the rigidity in her limbs and statue-like appearance being yet unaltered, she sung three plaintive songs, in a tone of voice so elegantly expressive, and with such affecting modulation, as evidently pointed out, how much the most powerful passion of the mind was concerned in the production of her disorder,

order, as indeed her history confirmed. In a few minutes afterwards she sighed deeply, and the spasm in her limbs was immediately relaxed. She complained that she could not open her eyes, her hands grew cold, a general tremor followed; but, in a few seconds, recovering intirely her recollection and powers of motion, she entered into a detail of her symptoms, and the history of her complaints.

She informed me, that she had no recollection whatever of what passed in the fits; that upon coming out of them she felt fatigue, in proportion to the time of their continuance; and that they sometimes lasted for five hours, though generally for a much shorter period.

She further related, that the fits returned once or twice a day, sometimes more frequently; but that she never was troubled with them in the night. She sometimes lost her sight and speech, the power over her limbs, and her intellectual faculties remaining unimpaired. The fits frequently attacked her without any previous warning: at other times, a fluttering at her stomach, and a
fixed

fixed pain at the top of her head, occupying a part which she could cover with her finger, announced their approach.

Hysterical risings in her throat, appearances of fire, pains in her eyes, and not unfrequently in her teeth, flatulence, a sense of weight in her stomach after eating, with convulsive motions in the region of that organ, were superadded symptoms, of which she much complained.

Her disorder was evidently exasperated at the approach of the catamenia, which were constantly present at the regular period. She was always much agitated previously to a storm of thunder; and every material alteration of the weather produced a sensible effect.

After she had discoursed for some time with apparent calmness, the universal spasm suddenly returned. Her features now assumed a different form, denoting a mind strongly impressed with anxiety and apprehension. At times she uttered short and vehement exclamations, in a piercing tone of voice, expressive of the passions that agitated her mind; her hands being strongly
locked

locked in each other, and all her muscles, those subservient to speech excepted, being affected with the same rigidity as before.

During the time of my attendance, similar appearances were frequently exhibited.

I was informed, by the family, of many particularities in the access of the disorder, all denoting its instantaneous effect upon the nervous system. She once was seized in my presence while drinking tea, and became universally rigid, at the instant she was advancing the tea-cup to her mouth. Her tears sometimes flowed copiously, while every internal, as well as external sense, seemed intirely locked up in sleep.

I will now proceed to describe the progress of the disorder, and the mode of treatment, before she was intrusted to my care.

It appears, that for many years before the access of the cataleptical symptoms, she had suffered much from violent head-achs, particularly that species of head-ach, termed *clavus hystericus*. Her spirits were easily discomposed. Her fingers, upon touching cold substances, would frequently lose their natural heat and feeling. Her habit of body
had

had been uncommonly costive, but of late her bowels were much disturbed by every kind of laxative. Her nervous complaints were always particularly troublesome at the approach of rain, and after a sleepless night.

Her disorder commenced with hysteric fits; to these succeeded a delirium of several days continuance, attended with slight shiverings, but no other sign of fever: the catalepsy followed next in order, which at first affected her with only single fits, at a week or fortnight's interval; these gradually advanced in strength and frequency, until, by her own sufferings, and her sensibility, on account of the anxiety of her friends, she was reduced to the most pitiable distress.

Before I saw her, she had been under the care of a physician of eminence in the country, who had attended to her case with singular humanity, and had prescribed various medicines of the nervous kind; which at one time produced so favourable an effect, as even to flatter with the prospect of a cure; but the symptoms returning with increased violence, through fresh anxiety of mind, the

same course of medicine was not attended with the same success.

Musk, opium, and bark, the latter of which did not always agree with her bowels, were found most effective. Of musk she had taken to the amount of a drachm and a half each day. Its use removed a sense of chillness, of which she before had much complained. A few drops of laudanum at the hour of rest had also been attended with advantage.

After I had tried æther—liquor anodyn. mineral. Hoffm.—ol. essent. e flor. chamæm.—ol. succini—extract. cicut.—rubig. chalyb. ppt.—sal succini—julep e camphorâ, and opium in a great variety of forms, without much advance, I found the following application had an evident good effect :

R. Opii colati

Camphoræ \overline{aa} drach. i.

Emplastr. stomach. q. s. f. emplastr. regioni ventriculi admo-
vendum.

Observing the effect of this application, and reflecting upon the many tokens of debility

bility which her stomach exhibited, I directed my attention to the strengthening of that organ, and, notwithstanding the discouraging circumstances that had formerly attended the exhibition of the bark, determined to make another trial of its power.

I chose the following form of preparation, which Dr. Whytt had found to be particularly serviceable in hysterical complaints:

R. Cort. Peruv. p. uncias duas,
 Rad. gentian.
 Cort. aurantior. \overline{aa} drachmas sex,
 misce: infunde in spir. vinos.
 Gallic. lb. ii, in balneo arenæ,
 per dies sex & cola.

Finding, upon trial, that half an ounce of this tincture, the quantity directed by Dr. Whytt, though diluted with two ounces of water, was more than her stomach would bear, I prescribed as follows:

R. Aquæ puræ unciam unam cum
 semisse,
 Tinct. præscript. drachmas duas,
 Spir. lavend. c. drachmam unam,
 M. f. haust. bis die sumendus.

Instead of the common kinds of tea, I advised her to drink an infusion of the outward rind of a lemon, which appeared particularly grateful to her taste and stomach.

She declared that she felt immediate benefit from this prescription.

She took some drops of Hoffman's anodyne liquor, or of laudanum, as occasion appeared to require.

She persisted in this course with evident advantage. Her fits grew less frequent, returning faintly after a week or fortnight's interval: her spirits were improved, her strength increased, until at length, without the use of any other medicine, she became intirely free from all complaint.

A N
A D D R E S S
T O T H E
F R E E H O L D E R S O F M I D D L E S E X,
A S S E M B L E D A T
F R E E M A S O N S T A V E R N,
I N G R E A T Q U E E N S T R E E T,
O N M O N D A Y T H E X X th O F D E C E M B E R,
M D C C L X X I X.

F O R T H E P U R P O S E O F E S T A B L I S H I N G
M E E T I N G S T O M A I N T A I N A N D S U P -
P O R T T H E F R E E D O M O F E L E C T I O N.

De Bello Sabino eos referre ; tanquam majus ullum
populo Romano bellum fit, quam cum iis, qui le-
gum ferendarum causa creati, nihil juris in civitate
reliquerint : qui comitia, qui annuos magistratus, qui
vicissitudinem imperitandi (quod unum exæquandæ
fit libertatis) sustulerint.

Liv. lib. iii. c. 39.

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MDCCLXXXII.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN the following tract, I have endeavoured to vindicate the primary rights of the english commonalty, considered as a component part of the constitution; and have pointed out a peaceable and effectual mode of correcting the abuses of representation, under the sanction of their authority and power.

It has been objected, that by the establishment of committees and delegations, a fourth power, unknown to the constitution, has been called into existence; and that the sense of the people can only be declared by their representatives in parliament.

On the other side, we are called upon to attend to that fatal subjection of the commons' house of parliament to the will of the minister, from whence all our present calamities are derived; a subjection, evidently arising from the imperfection of its constitution, or, in other words, from the inequality of the representation, the unwarrantable restrictions of that right of voting, to which every englishman is en-

titled, and the prolongation of parliaments, beyond their ancient period.

In such circumstances can it be our duty to venerate the shadow, the substance being long since fled? Or must we, in a cause peculiarly our own, sit down in criminal inactivity, expectant that our rights shall be recovered by the unassisted exertions of our friends in the aristocracy, or spontaneously conceded to us by the crown?

When the ordinary delegation ceases to express the people's will, are the commons of this country altogether destitute of constitutional resource? When such doctrines are openly maintained, it becomes us not to reason, but to act.

The voice of the people is, and ought to be, a voice of terror to a bad government; but it will ever be listened to by an administration of a different character, with complacency and delight.

It surely, therefore, must afford peculiar pleasure to those illustrious personages, who now possess the reins of power, when they perceive themselves encouraged and supported, in their generous efforts to restore
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the constitution, by the grateful voice of an applauding public.

Among the various measures, recommended for the purpose of restoring freedom and independency to parliament, I must confess, there is one to which I am particularly partial. It is certainly allowable for every citizen to promote by peaceful means, while the question lies before the public in its present state of indecision, that specific plan, which, in his own judgment, appears most agreeable to justice and the constitution. Yet, sensible that whatever has the sanction of less than a majority, is not the act of the commons of England; I would not be understood to wish the establishment of any other plan of reformation, than that, which, upon a fair appeal, shall ultimately approve itself to the general sense of an enlightened people.

Craven-street, May 3, 1782.

TO THE
CHAIRMAN OF THE MEETING
OF THE
FREEHOLDERS OF MIDDLESEX, &c.

S I R,

THE professed design of your meeting, and the present alarming state of public affairs, induce me to submit the following sentiments to the judgment of yourself, and the other gentlemen assembled; presuming, if they appear to be founded in reason, they will not be the less regarded, on account of their being suggested by an unknown individual.*

The

* It has been suggested to the author of these pages, that it is possible the parliament may be dissolved, shortly after the expiration of the present recess. Such an apprehension, if justly founded, will probably operate upon the counties, to press the necessity of a speedy inquiry into the expenditure of the revenue, and incline them

The degree of attention, which ought in reason to be paid by the representative in parliament to the instructions of his constituents, has often been the subject of controversy. It has frequently been contended, when, upon various occasions, the sentiments of the electors of England have been conveyed to the elected, that the latter were justified in paying no further degree of attention to them, than the arguments, considered

them strongly to recommend the establishment of certain æconomical regulations, of no little consequence to the well-being of the state. Such topics, as have a more immediate connection with our political existence, will doubtless not escape their notice.

A people may be, for a time, prosperous and happy, when the persons, to whom the crown confides the powers of administration, act in a manner conformable to the high importance of the trust.

A people is free, when such constitutional checks exist, as render it impracticable for ministers to betray the public cause.

The happiness of englishmen ought not to depend upon the precarious virtue of a minister of state; they have a right to require, that it be founded on the solid basis of parliamentary independence.

I know some persons, who, if the opportunity, which now presents itself, of securing this important point, should be neglected, will be ready to exclaim,—“time was—*actum est de libertate anglicanâ*”

sidered independently of the authority of the persons instructing, or remonstrating, appeared to deserve.

It has been urged upon such occasions, that the person, thus instructed, ought to consider himself as the representative of the kingdom at large; and, therefore, as not under a particular obligation to obey the instructions of the county, or borough, which returns him. A movement of such importance, as will hereafter be proposed, should be founded on principles, which, like maxims of law, or axioms in geometry, admit not of debate.*

With

* The right of the electors of Great-Britain, to advise and instruct their representatives, and the obligation which the latter are under, freely to communicate and consult with those, from whom they have received their power, are founded upon the justest principles; the practice is agreeable to immemorial usage; and it would have been happy for this country, had such an intercourse more frequently prevailed. A question, however, naturally arises concerning the obligation of the representative to obey the instructions of the particular district, or the borough, which returns him, when his deference to the sentiments of other parts of the kingdom, the superior lights he may derive from his situation, or
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With greater appearance of reason it has been contended, that the representatives of the

the dictates of his conscience, would incline him to pursue a different conduct.

The following case may assist us in the solution of this difficulty.

Let us suppose that a member of the commons' house of parliament is instructed to declare his dissent, in case a bill should be introduced, which has for its object the abolition of the slave trade; a practice, so abhorrent from the dictates of humanity, and the principles of our religion, that I make no scruple of affirming, with a very excellent citizen, and respectable writer, that it ought not to be tolerated in a christian country.

Let us further suppose, that the majority of the representatives of the people have also been instructed by their constituents, to promote the introduction of a bill, for its immediate abolition.

Let us, lastly, suppose that the principles, on which such a bill is founded, accord with the feelings, and the judgment of the member, who has received instructions to oppose it.

In these circumstances, it is demanded, what is that line of conduct, which it would become such member to pursue, who, attentive to the dictates of conscience and honour, is also willing to approve himself a friend to the rights of human kind?

Since the publication of the last edition of this pamphlet, I have reconsidered this subject, and, in consequence of the further lights I have received, am now decidedly of opinion, that it would be the bounden duty
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the commons, actually assembled in parliament, may permit to lie neglected on their table, the petition or remonstrance of the most respectable, or most populous, county
of

of the member thus instructed, either to comply with the requisition of his constituents, or to resign his trust.

The representative is, properly speaking, the proxy of the inhabitants of the district which returns him. He acts or he assents in the name of parties, who, by the instrumentality of his person, are reputed present in parliament, and, consequently, should consider himself as the organ of their will, in every instance where that will is positively declared. If, however, it appears to the representative, that the conduct prescribed, as may readily be supposed in the case before us, can by no means be reconciled with his principles as a christian, or his feelings as a man, he should be allowed an opportunity of divesting himself of a trust, the functions of which he can no longer honestly discharge.

It is asserted by Mr. Burgh, in his "Political disquisitions," that there is no advantage within the reach of a particular people, that may not be obtained by parliamentary government, in as effectual a manner, as if every inhabitant of the country were to deliberate and vote in person. The position is strictly just, provided an equal representation were established, the right of universal suffrage restored, and the compliance of the representative with the wishes of his constituents secured, by the abolition of the undue influence of the crown, and the reduction of parliaments to their ancient period,

of the kingdom, if the sentiments, contained in the said petition or remonstrance, be discordant with their own.

Partial interests, and a partial conception of the point in question, may, with greater probability, be supposed to prevail in a county meeting, however respectable, than in the public assembly of the nation. A declaration of opinion, in the strongest language of remonstrance, cannot be unlawful, and may frequently be expedient; and the right of petitioning is a privilege, to which the obscurest individual is entitled. But the power to reject, or to redress, must, in ordinary instances, be considered as vested in the general representative of all the commons of England. *

For

* Every subject of this state is not only authorised, but by the genius of english liberty he is encouraged and exhorted, freely to examine the defects of the constitution, the errors of government, and the conduct of the persons, employed in its various departments; and as freely to censure, wherever censure, in his judgment, shall be due. I am sometimes afraid, that the present inattention of the nation, to affairs of state, is a symptom of its approaching dissolution. I wish to see the ancient spirit of my countrymen revive; I wish to see them

For although it be allowed, that the inhabitants of a district, which returns a member
to

them a nation of politicians, and the principle of the famous ordinance of Solon universally prevail. There are times, when it should be esteemed criminal in any person, arrived at years of discretion, not to have formed an opinion; treasonable, when a fair opportunity presents itself, not to propagate, and support his opinion, by the force of argument, and every legal method in his power.

For these and many other reasons, the usurped power of excluding the subject from the galleries of the commons' house of parliament, more especially as exercised of late years, appears to me a direct violation of one of the most important privileges of the people. It deprives the elector of the opportunity of hearing, what it highly concerns him to know; and diminishes the force of that salutary apprehension, in the mind of the elected, which, in the midst of the temptations he is exposed to, has not unfrequently afforded considerable assistance to his virtue. It defrauds the true patriot of part of his reward, and shelters the person of the midnight assassin of the constitution, from deserved ignominy and disgrace; but I forbear.

The only argument offered in justification of this practice, that deserves the least attention, is founded upon the idea, that foreign powers may thus become more easily acquainted with our national concerns. But such arguments would have no place, were the deliberations of the commons' house of parliament confined to
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to the commons' house of parliament, have a right to influence the conduct of their representative, yet every other member, not similarly instructed, is free to act as his own discretion shall direct.

Hence, upon an application to the commons' house of parliament, if the petitioning party be a minority of the kingdom, the voice of the majority in parliament ought to prevail against a minority of the constituent body.

I am sensible, however, that cases may occur, particularly cases of election, in which, the commons' house of parliament may extend its jurisdiction beyond the bounds prescribed by reason and the constitution; in such I do not hold, that the aggrieved electors, even of a single district, can be concluded by a parliamentary vote.

But if doubts have arisen, concerning the obligation of an individual in the commons' house of parliament, to attend to the instructions

the proper objects. It has, with reason, been asserted, that this branch of the legislature, of late years, has too frequently assumed the executive functions of government.

structions of his immediate constituent, with very little appearance of reason can it be maintained, that the electors or freeholders of a single city or county have a right to dictate the line of conduct to the crown.

The king, the house of lords, and the commons of this country, fairly and adequately represented in parliament, are to be considered, with respect to each other, as free and independent: * while the constitution

H h 2 subsists,

* It was my intention, in using these strong expressions, to impress upon the minds of my countrymen an important truth, the right conception of which may have a considerable influence upon their future conduct.

By these expressions, however, I would be only understood to mean, that, in case any one of the three divisions of the legislature should refuse to comply with the inclinations of the other two, or should even be disposed to act in opposition to them, the combined portions are not invested, by the constitution, with any authority to compel the dissentient party to a concurrence with their measures, or legally to arraign its conduct.

The proper rights and functions of each of these powers, and the passions incident to human nature, when placed in certain circumstances, tend, however, to unite them, on every occasion, where the public good requires their consent; and the same passions also tend to control,

subsists, they are equally exempt from the most distant idea of mutual coercion and control.

If, therefore, all the commons of England, represented in parliament, cannot presume to dictate to the crown, without an infringement of its rights, how slender must be the claim

trol, or moderate, their mutual actions, and effectually to prevent their union; when such union would obstruct the general welfare of the state. I readily acknowledge, that, in this sense, no branch of the legislature can be considered as free and independent. They all are subjected, equally with individuals, to those moral causes, which, in the most exalted state of political liberty, with resistless energy, though frequently silent, and unobserved, control, direct and modify the actions of mankind.

But I here am speaking of the english constitution, according to its model of perfection, not its present state.

Let any unprejudiced person consult the “Political disquisitions” of the late excellent Mr. Burgh; let him attend to facts, which must have fallen within his proper knowledge; and he may possibly be inclined to doubt, whether an english house of commons is in being at this instant. Let him turn his attention to the rising spirit of this much insulted nation, and it is possible he may conceive, that the present is the moment for giving existence to such a body; and that this might be effected, by measures perfectly constitutional and pacific.

claim of a single portion of the constituent body to such an high prerogative?

This doctrine, I trust, will not be found in the least to militate against the acknowledged right of the people to new-model the constitution, and to punish, with exemplary rigour, every person, with whom they have intrusted power, provided, in their opinion, he shall be found to have betrayed that trust.

I speak only of a period, when, from the acquiescence of the people, it plainly appears to be their will, that the form of government, already established, should continue in existence.

Widely different from the present, would be the nature of my argument, and the energy of my expressions, were I treating of that solemn hour, when the delegates of a state, chosen according to forms, which not law and custom, but necessity or expedience shall prescribe, and assembling for the purpose of inquiring into the abuse of power; shall sit in awful judgment upon the traitorous invaders of their rights. In such assembly alone, I acknowledge the sovereign

power to reside. To such alone, the tremendous name of majesty may, with propriety, be attributed. And, compared with its imperial jurisdiction, the prerogatives of the crown, the splendid privileges of the nobles, and the authority of the commons' house of parliament, either separately considered, or combined, are less than dust upon the scale. *

For the reasons above-mentioned, and others to which I shall not at present call the attention of my readers, the memorable petitions of the freeholders of Middlesex, and of other counties of England, to the crown, praying a dissolution of the parliament, appear to have been very ill calculated

* Great advantage would be derived to the community, were our fellow-citizens, of the lower classes, properly instructed in the just and constitutional meaning of such terms as the following, viz. majesty, subject, sovereign, republic, loyalty, allegiance, rebellion, treason, prerogative, king's bread, king's armies, my people, &c. We never can expect to behold a proper exertion of the natural good sense, and spirit of the nation, until the understandings, and affections, of all orders of men, are emancipated from the influence of the false ideas, which ignorance, or the art of designing politicians, have annexed to these expressions.

lated to produce any salutary effect. To what purpose was it to prefer an ungrateful petition to a power, which you could not legally coerce? Men possessed of power are not disposed to part with it, upon the petition of the persons, who have declared themselves injured by its exertion. Such mode of seeking redress rather tends to perpetuate the grievances, of which we complain. It cannot be construed a breach of privilege to assert, that the house of commons of that day was an engine of oppression, worked by that very power, from which it was requested the destruction of it should proceed.*

H h 4

Whether

* These remonstrances of the counties, so far as they were declarations of the opinion of the petitioning parties, respecting the transaction here alluded to, were perfectly constitutional. The error consisted in requesting or expecting, as matters were then circumstanced, that the crown would interfere in the dispute. There is a difference between an obligation strictly moral, and an obligation established by the sanctions of municipal law. There is also a difference between being obliged to receive a petition, and being obliged to comply with its prayer.

Whenever it is in contemplation, to offer a petition
to

Whether the same objections can reasonably be urged against the following measures, the wisdom of your assembly must decide. I will state my idea with all the brevity and precision in my power.

As there is reason to believe that other counties will soon follow your laudable example, in appointing meetings, for the purpose of maintaining and supporting the freedom of election, it might not be improper for the county, which sets the glorious example, to draw the outlines of a regular plan, in which all the counties, that may hereafter be disposed to pursue a similar line of conduct, may concur.

With a view of facilitating the execution of any important measure, hereafter to be adopted,

to a power, of whose friendly disposition a doubt is entertained, the petitioning parties should always ask themselves the following question, viz. supposing our suit should be rejected, or passed over without notice, is it in our power to manifest such resentment, as may induce the rejecters to pay greater attention to a second application. If the parties petitioned apprehend, that the supplicants are possessed of such a power, they will, in all probability, attend even to the first request.

The conduct of the english minister to a sister kingdom will afford a comment to this doctrine.

adopted, it would be expedient to institute a general estimate of the number of the inhabitants, contained in the several counties, cities, and principal manufacturing towns in this kingdom; and from thence to form a calculation of the number of deputies, which ought to be sent by each, provided it should be thought requisite for them to confer upon the proper measures for carrying their resolutions into effect.

As soon as these numbers are ascertained, let the idea be communicated to the approved friends of liberty in other counties, and let it be submitted to their judgment, whether it would not be expedient to establish standing committees, and to have respect to the aforesaid calculation, in their appointment. For instance; if the Middlesex committee should consist of (thirty) members, the standing committee of Yorkshire, Norfolk, Hampshire, Huntingdonshire, &c. should consist of a number, proportioned to the population of those counties.

It will doubtless appear an advisable measure, after such standing committees
have

have been established, that they should communicate, from time to time, with each other, by their chairmen or secretaries, and, by their joint and separate influence, endeavour to induce other counties to follow their example; but it would, by no means, be expedient for them, to associate in the prosecution of any invariable plan, until it shall appear, that a majority of the kingdom shall be willing to concur in one design.

When this moment is arrived, the committees of each county may depute a proportionate number of their body, to confer upon a proper form of remonstrance to the commons' house of parliament; in which may be set forth the grievance, the nature of the expected redress, with a subjoined demand of such redress, within a limited time.

It may, in the last place, appear expedient, after a form of remonstrance has been approved by the committees, that it should be properly authenticated, as the public ACT of the combined counties. It would then be ready for presentation at the bar of the house, according to such solemnities, and with such attendance, as the laws may authorize,

thorize, and the importance of the subject-matter demand.

The objection that lay against the idea of a single county petitioning parliament, or of all the counties in succession, would here have no place. The counties, thus remonstrating in combination, might justly assume a very different tone from the same counties without such connection. The command would proceed from the principal to the delegate, from the master to the servant, against whom may be issued an immediate revocation of all discretionary powers, the moment it is perceived, that the concerns of the principal are likely to suffer, through the want of honesty, or ability, in the person he employs.

The former plea of the delegate, that he is a representative of the community at large, may be urged against him, for here the community at large requires his compliance.

It is also to be considered, that the members of the house of commons sit, not in their own right, (like the king and nobles) but as proxies for others ; and the proxy ought,

in

in all reason, to be regarded as annihilated, when the voice of the principal shall be thus distinctly heard.

The king, the hereditary nobility, and the commons, form the constitutional legislature of this country. The particular manner, in which the latter give their voice, is a subordinate consideration. If they could assemble in person for this purpose, as was the case at Athens, and at Rome, the highest respect would be due to such transcendent authority : but as such mode is liable to very forcible objections, and indeed would be impracticable, the proper expedient is an equal and adequate representation ; and in such a representative, whether it be convoked by ordinary or extraordinary forms, I apprehend every power and privilege, with which a commons' house of parliament can be invested, do substantially reside.*

But

* It is the proper end and aim of representation, that the interests of all classes and descriptions of men should, without respect of parties, be effectually consulted, in the public ordinances of the nation. Whether these interests may be best secured, by attending to property, or to numbers, is a subject deserving of the most serious attention.

It

But let us imagine, for a moment, that an authority, thus respectable, on account of property and numbers, should not in this instance be obeyed.

The persons, delegated by the committees to carry this mandate to the house of commons, report to the bodies which deputed them, the event of their remonstrance.

The committees assemble the counties, and make a report of their proceedings.

Under these circumstances, persons of character and influence may arise in each
county

It has been strenuously maintained, that it would be impolitic to extend the election franchise to the lower orders of society, and that greater disorders, than what we already experience, would ensue from such indulgence. Others, with greater appearance of reason, assert, that these disorders actually arise in consequence of the subtraction of those political rights to which every englishman is entitled, and certain defects in the mode of conducting elections, which a few plain and simple regulations would remove.

I beg leave to refer my readers, who are desirous of information with respect both to the matter of right and expediency, to the various publications of major Cartwright, Mr. Granville Sharp, and the rev. Mr. Northcote, who have unfolded the nature of the elective franchise, and defended the claim of every citizen to its enjoyment, with the utmost perspicuity, and unanswerable strength of argument.

county assembly, and propose the election of a new committee, formed upon the same principles, but intrusted with more important powers : * it may also be expedient to recommend a general association of the county, by the terms of which, the parties lay themselves under a solemn obligation, as men of honour, and friends of their country, to agree to, and support, every constitutional measure, which the major part of the committees shall think it expedient to propose,

* A proposition, expressive of this idea, might be conceived in the following terms.

“ That it is the sense of the inhabitants of this city or county, that () persons be appointed a committee for the purpose of deliberating with the committees of like-disposed cities or counties; upon the state of the representation; that the members of this committee be hereby authorized to exercise all such powers, as by immemorial usage do belong to the members of the commons’ house of parliament; that they be also invested with the further power of assenting, in conjunction with the king and hereditary nobility, to such regulations, as may be proposed, for the purpose of establishing an equal and universal representation of the people, in sessional parliaments, agreeably to the ancient constitution and customs of this realm; and, lastly, that this commission shall terminate at the expiration of () months.”

pose, for the purpose of obtaining an effectual redress.

The attention of the people will thus at length be excited ; they will see before them a set of men who are guiltless of the charge of having betrayed the most important of all trusts ; an intire confidence will be reposed in them by their constituents ; and the consciousness of this confidence will give additional vigour to every resolution. Measures, dictated by patriotism, directed by prudence, and supported by a sterner spirit of perseverance, than hath hitherto been manifested, will be the unavoidable result. What measures may be proper to be adopted, circumstances, with which every future hour will be pregnant, must determine. I will not presume, even in idea, to anticipate, what may be thought expedient by the concentrated wisdom of an enlightened people.

I am, however, of opinion, that if such combined assemblies should, in solemn council, declare, that the present house of commons was dissolved, such declaration would be truly constitutional ; and that the requisite

quisite power would not be wanting to give validity to the decree.

I am also of opinion, that whatever regulations, respecting the mode of electing representatives, and the forms of convoking future parliaments in this kingdom, might be agreed upon in such convention, and should afterwards be assented to by the nobles and the king, ought to be regarded as constitutional ordinances of the sovereign power, until they are repealed by a similar authority; and that the acts of every future parliament, convoked in conformity to the regulations thus established, would have all the authority of law.*

According

* The celebrated Junius, in a letter to Mr. Wilkes, (vol. ii. p. 353.) expresses his doubts, whether the disfranchising the boroughs, could, "de jure," be effected by an act of the legislature, upon the general ground of improving the constitution. He demands, by what kind of reasoning it can be proved, that there is a power vested in the representative, to destroy its immediate constituent?

The principles advanced, and, I trust, established, in this tract, will afford a satisfactory solution of this difficulty. They will, I hope, enable every reader to discern, that those important and necessary regulations, which the present house of commons may have neither
the

According to this idea, no unconstitutional coercion would be exerted against the remaining branches of the legislature ;* each would possess its proper independency, and freedom from external constraint ; but would perhaps perceive it to be prudent to comply with the temperate claims, and wishes of the commons. No other expedient would be necessary than the withholding of the supplies.

Thus might, at length, be obtained the blessing of an equal, annual, and universal representation of the commons : the only
 effectual

the power, nor the disposition to enact, can, beyond all controversy, be established, by the paramount authority of an equal and adequate representative, elected by the suffrages of all the commons of England, for the very purpose in question.

* It may reasonably be presumed, that the proposed measures would be supported by the general concurrence of the hereditary nobility of this kingdom ; as every diminution of the present enormous influence of the crown, tends to restore, to that illustrious order of our fellow citizens, its proper dignity and constitutional importance.

effectual remedy for the increasing disorders of our distempered state.*

Thus,

* It lies not within the powers of my feeble pen, to describe, in adequate language, the various good effects, that, in all probability, would be derived from this source. One particularly strikes me at this moment, which has not hitherto been sufficiently considered; and, as its object is improvement in virtue, I hope the friends of virtue will attend to it.

As matters are circumstanced at present, the number of persons is comparatively small, who can reasonably expect to obtain a seat in that assembly, which, if formed according to the spirit of our constitution, would be one of the most respectable assemblies upon earth. But, were the duration of parliaments abridged; the election of members less open to undue influence; and a plan of rotation and equal representation established, many youths of spirit and ability, animated by the prospect of the flattering distinction, to which the free unbiassed voice of their fellow citizens might raise them, would learn to disdain each meaner gratification, and feel within them sentiments, rising responsive to the voice of virtue, and of that honest fame, which, in the language of the poet, "*Carmine gratior, laurem occupat humanam.*"

I trust there is more than one illustrious senator, who fully can comprehend my meaning, and whose future rectitude of conduct will verify my words.

What the incomparable Beccaria says of an enslaved people in general, holds true also with respect to those, who find themselves excluded from bearing a part in framing the laws, and directing the public counsels of their

Thus, the fabric of government, reared by our ancestors, at the expense of so much labour and blood, would appear in finished beauty; and the popular pillar of the constitution, thus set upon its proper basis, would give security and permanency to the whole.*

I i 2

I have

their country. “Gliu omini schiavi sono più voluttuosi, più libertini, più crudeli degli uomini liberi. Questi meditano sulle scienze, meditano sugl’interessi della Nazione, veggono grandi oggetti, e gl’imitano; ma quegli contenti del giorno presente cercano frà lo strepito del libertinaggio una distrazione dall’annientamento, in cui si veggono.”

Beccaria dei Delitti e delle Pene, p. 190.

* The idea of an equal and adequate representation was, several years ago, proposed, and ably supported, in the house of commons, by that intelligent and inflexible assertor of english liberties, Mr. Wilkes. And, in the beginning of June 1780, the duke of Richmond, to his immortal honour, proposed a bill for the establishment of an equal representation of the commons in annual parliaments, and the restitution of the right of suffrage to those numerous classes of our fellow citizens, who, at various times, and on various pretences, have been deprived of this their best inheritance, and most effectual security against the restless machinations of despotic power.

Were the measure now adopted, a federal union
with

I have much to urge in confirmation of my opinion; I am aware of objections; and I am not unprepared to reply to them. But I mean

with the american states, productive of the greatest commercial, as well as other political advantages, would probably take place; and this, perhaps, at no very distant period. Amidst the present disorders of our distempered state, they may possibly esteem it dangerous to be connected with a nation, so nearly allied to perdition.

The arts, that have been used to inflame the minds of the people of England, against their brethren on the other side of the Atlantic, have hitherto proved but too successful. I trust, however, they now begin to fail; and that a temper, more becoming the ancient generosity and humanity of our nation, and more congenial to the spirit of the religion we profess, will actuate our counsels. The great, the good Dr. Price has so ably touched this subject, that it would be presumption in me to add any further reflections of my own. To his sound and catholic doctrine, I subscribe with heart and hand.

The principal ideas, contained in the plan now proposed, have long been present to the mind of the writer. Strongly impressed with the persuasion, that an english house of commons, in order to its answering, in any degree, the purposes of its institution, ought to be a real representation of the people, he suggested to sir George Saville his sentiments, respecting the necessity and the practicability of a reformation, in the spring of the year 1776; communicating what is now made public, to that excellent citizen, in two private letters, under the signature of "Salus publica," originally annexed to this address.

mean not to trespass any further on your patience. I submit this general sketch of my present sentiments, with deference, to a set of gentlemen, who, I trust, understand the rights of their fellow citizens, and have already manifested a becoming spirit in their support.

The leading principles of my idea may be recapitulated in the following words.

Alarmed, when I recollect the fate of former remonstrances in favour of the injured rights of election;* I would suggest to my fellow citizens, that, although petitions from a majority of the counties, when acting single or unconnected, might be rejected, greater respect would be paid to the remonstrance of the same counties combined. As the voice of such majority would, strictly speaking, be the voice of the commons of this country.

I would also impress my countrymen with a persuasion, that if they wish to effect their political salvation, it will be necessary for them steadily to keep in view some one con-

I i 3

stitutional

* Ita dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur. Tacit. Agric.

stitutional point, clear, distinct, and comprehensive in its nature ; expressed in terms, adapted to the understandings of all orders of men ; such as the intelligent and the virtuous of all parties will approve ; and which, if attained, will not only render us an happy and an united people, but ensure the enjoyment of every national advantage to our latest posterity.*

Measures

* The single measure, which, in my apprehension, would correspond, in every particular, to the characteristics above recited, is the establishment of a commons' house of parliament, in exact conformity to the primæval principles of the constitution of this country.† Unless the independency of this division of the legislature be maintained, its existence can be but of little consequence to the people. It is surely a reasonable wish, and it ought to be the wish of every englishman, that the commons of this country may have their interests and inclinations consulted, and attended to, **IN THEIR OWN HOUSE**. In such circumstances, it would never
be

† It is a satisfaction to me to reflect, that I am supported, with respect to the principal doctrines avowed in the preceding pages, by the following very respectable authorities.

“ By the common law, all freemen of England had a voice in the election of these knights, within the
counties

Measures of extensive utility are generally plain and simple, and immediately approve themselves to the general sense of mankind ; with respect to such, therefore, unanimity may be expected.

I i 4

It

be in the power of an abandoned administration, with its dependent tribes of placemen, pensioners and contractors, to riot unrestrained in the public plunder ; sacrificing, with unbounding prodigality, at the shrine of despotism, the resources of the present generation, and the just inheritance of millions yet unborn ; while discontent, distress, and disgrace prevail, in every part of this once glorious, happy and extensive empire : or, to sum up, in a few words, what would require many volumes in the detail, it would follow as a consequence in immediate connection, that the public would for ever be secured, against the treachery and insults OF ITS OWN SERVANTS.

counties where they dwelt ; but now, by these statutes of 8th Hen. vi. and 10th Hen. vi. they are restrained to such as have 40s. freehold per annum within the county."

Dalton's Sheriff, p. 334.

Westminster committee, March 20, 1780.

Resolved, " That annual parliaments are the undoubted right of the people of England, and that the act which prolonged their duration was subversive of the constitution, and a violation, on the part of the representatives,

It is also to be considered, that the same legal exertion of spirit, which, under the guidance of wisdom and moderation, would establish one point of comparatively small consequence, would secure to us the possession

representatives, of the sacred trust reposed in them by their constituents.

Resolved, “ That the present state of the representation of this country is inadequate to the object, and a departure from the first principles of the constitution.”

At a general meeting of the city of Westminster,
April 6, 1780.

Resolved, “ That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the people of England have, and always had, a clear, unalienable, indefeasible right to an annual election of their representatives, as well as to an adequate and equal representation, founded upon stronger grounds than that of any act or acts of parliament, and that the attainment of these constitutional important objects, is the most effectual expedient for restoring and securing the independence of parliament.”

Council-chamber, Guildhall, April 7, 1780.

“ The noble and manly proof which your lordship has given, in your letter to the county of Wilts, of your decided concurrence in the undoubted right of the people to short parliaments, and the necessity of a more equal representation, cannot but increase our regard, esteem, and confidence; and your lordship, in your further

sion of the most important, beyond the influence of time and chance.

That the friends of liberty, and of their country, should communicate with each other, and, in all their resolutions, should look

ther prosecution of those great constitutional objects, may depend on the most firm and determined support from the city of London."—Extract of a letter from the common-council of the city of London to the earl of Shelburne.

Westminster committee, June 13, 1780.

Resolved, "That the thanks of this committee be given to the duke of Richmond, for his late motion in favour of an annual, equal, and universal representation of the commons; a measure, which is founded on the broad basis of constitutional liberty, and the common rights of mankind; and would, in the opinion of this committee, be immediately productive of that parliamentary freedom and independency, which it is the purpose of our association to promote."

Surry committee, Nov. 11, and Westminster committee, Nov. 17, 1780.

Resolved, "That the voice of the commons of England is no less necessary for every legislative purpose, than that of either the sovereign or the lords; and that, therefore, the people claim it, as their just and inherent privilege, to correct the abuses of representation, whenever such abuses shall have so increased, as to rob them of their constitutional share in their own government."

At

look forward to futurity; appear to me to be maxims, strongly suggested by the complexion of the times.

I have only to add, that, when the times of distress, long predicted, shall arrive, the requisite temper and prudence may be wanting for the conception of such schemes, as may be necessary for the salvation of our country. But a plan may be proposed, may be deliberated upon, and in part assented to, in that hour of tranquility which precedes the storm.

At a full meeting of the grand jury, gentlemen, and freeholders of the county of Galway, March 31, 1782.

Resolved, “ That when we daily see the mandate of the minister supersede all conviction in debate; when placed and pensioned members of parliament notoriously support in public, measures, which they condemn in private; when the hirelings of corruption avow, and government has exemplified in recent instances of distinguished public characters, that to vote according to conscience, amounts to a disqualification to hold any office in the service of our country, it is time for the people to look to themselves, and in great national questions to assert their right to control those, who owe their political existence to their breath, and may be annihilated by their displeasure.

A
L E T T E R
T O

SIR ROBERT BERNARD, BART.
CHAIRMAN OF THE
HUNTINGDONSHIRE COMMITTEE.

Injussu populi nihil sanciri potest quod populum teneat.
Liv.

A general presumption that kings (or ministers) will
govern well, is not a sufficient security to the people.
ALGERNON SIDNEY.

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A L E T T E R

T O

SIR ROBERT BERNARD, BART.

CHAIRMAN OF THE
HUNTINGDONSHIRE COMMITTEE.

S I R,

THE delegation being closed, by a resolution of its members, upon saturday the twenty-first ult. I think it now incumbent upon me to explain the principles, upon which I conducted myself in the discharge of an office, to which the partiality of yourself, and the other gentlemen of the Huntingdonshire committee, had a second time appointed me.

Although I was persuaded, that an house of commons, constituted as the present, would never be induced, by the supplications of the people, to take an active part in diminishing the influence of the crown, yet I thought it my duty to concur in an application to that purpose; perceiving it to
be

be the general opinion of the delegates, that such application should take the lead of what, I own, has always appeared to me the most eligible plan of reformation: I mean that substantial reform in the representative body, which, in the highest degree, it concerns the people to advert to; a reform, more practicable than is generally apprehended, and which, in my understanding, suggests the only hope of political salvation.

I must confess, it was with reluctance I consented to the idea of keeping out of sight our delegated character in the title of the petition, lately presented to the commons' house of parliament. It was with equal reluctance I consented to wave the insertion of some other circumstances, respecting the finance of this country, which seemed to me to call more loudly for parliamentary reprehension, than any hitherto noticed in the petitions of the people.

It was also with difficulty, I persuaded myself to adopt a stile, in my idea too humble for such an occasion, in an address to the servants of the people; to a body of men, of whom I verily believed the majority had already,

ready, in the short period that hath elapsed since their election, more than once manifested an utter disregard to the interests of their constituents.

Urged by the force of these impressions, I declared my sentiments with that freedom which became your delegate; but I reflected, that if unanimity was ever desirable, it was peculiarly so at the outset of our undertaking. I therefore acquiesced in the idea of petitioning as a freeholder of your county, and conceded to the general wish of abiding by a form, which, it was urged, had already received the sanction of a very considerable part of the community.

It was with heartfelt pleasure that I was witness to the well-informed zeal, with which the worthy deputies of Yorkshire opened and supported the plan of parliamentary reformation, announced in the address of their committee, and that spirit of patriotism, with which their idea was generally adopted by the assembly.

To the first part of that plan, which proposed the addition of at least one hundred members, to be chosen in due proportion

in

in the several counties of this kingdom, I gave my concurrence; being inclined to hope, that such an institution, which had already been approved by many of the associated counties, might be salutary in its consequences; and not inconsistent with those more enlarged schemes of reformation, which I trust the spirit and good sense of the english nation will hereafter carry into effect.*

But, in order that my subsequent conduct may appear in its proper point of view, I request the indulgent attention of the committee to the following considerations:

It seemed to be the general opinion of the delegates, that parliamentary freedom and independence might be restored by an improved arrangement of the present electors of this kingdom. I did not, therefore, controvert the idea in this stage of the business; I concurred with them in practice as far as they went; but my theory led me to more extensive conclusions.

I con-

[* The author afterwards altered his opinion on this proposal, as may be seen in his first " Letter to the volunteers of Ireland," in the following part of this volume.]

I considered that the persons, who at present exercise the power of election, in the name of the people of England, might be distributed into three classes.*

In the first class would be contained those inhabitants of this kingdom, who possess freeholds to the amount of forty shillings a year and upwards, supposed to be in number 130,000, and electing ninety-two members to serve for fifty-two counties.

The second class would comprehend 43,000 citizens, freemen, and others, who elect fifty-two members for twenty-three cities and two universities.

In the third or last class would be found 41,000 electors, who choose 369 members for 192 towns and boroughs.

It was proposed by the deputies of Yorkshire, that the members elected by the 130,000 freeholders should amount at the least to 192.

As a further barrier against undue influence, I proposed that one hundred should be subtracted

* Report of the Westminster sub-committee, dated March 19, 1780.

subtracted from the 369 burgesſes, choſen at preſent by the 41,000 electors, in order that the ſum total of the members elected by the preſent freeholders, citizens, freemen, burgesſes, and other electors of England, might remain the ſame as before.

The motion was not ſupported; the reaſons that induced me to propoſe this alteration are as follows :

In the firſt place, it appeared to me, that the houſe of commons is already ſufficiently numerous for all the purpoſes of its inſtitution. In the happieſt periods of our hiſtory its number was far inferior to what it is at preſent : and it has been ably obſerved, that with the increaſe of its members would, in all probability, be increaſed the national depravity, and the expenſe of the public ; * unleſs, at the ſame time, ſuch meaſures were embraced, as, by ſubjecting the repreſentative

* The reſolution, actually aſſented to by the delegation, propoſes that the additional members ſhould be choſen in due proportion, in the ſeveral cities as well as counties of the kingdom ; a proviſion, which rather ſtrengthens than impairs the argument in favour of a diminution of the borough members.

tive to the control of the constituent, would necessarily place him beyond the power of corruption.

I secondly reflected, that the persons, who elect the 369 members to serve for the towns and boroughs of the kingdom, are the most dependent part of the nation; and are acknowledged to be, in every respect, the least worthy of being intrusted with the exercise of so important a power as they at present enjoy, to the great injury of the landed and commercial interests of this country.

In the last place, I considered, that the popular sentiment seemed more favourable to the idea of diminishing the number of the borough members, than to the proposed augmentation in the counties. And although it was alledged, that in case this idea were adopted, we should have the interest of the proprietors of boroughs to contend with, it appeared to me such interest might be purchased, in many instances, by a proper compensation; and that even in case some reluctance should be manifested by any of the parties concerned, such persons would

K k 2 probably

probably not continue to oppose the general wish, when they reflected, that the power they enjoyed was utterly inconsistent with the people's undoubted right to an equal representation, whenever they might think proper to assert it.

In proposing this improvement, I proceeded upon the idea, adopted by my brethren of the delegation. But, in fact, I esteem all propositions for an improved arrangement of the present voters of this kingdom, in no further degree worthy of the attention of the public, than as they are preparatory steps to that complete reformation, which I am now more than ever persuaded might be effected by the peaceful efforts of the people, acting by their committees, and uniting in a general association to support their resolves.

I am, as will afterwards more fully appear, decidedly of opinion, that an english house of commons should be a representation of persons, not of property; of men, not of things; and that there is no necessity for the delegation of the important right of election to any portion of the community,
intermediate

intermediate between the representative and the great collective body of the people. But supposing these points were to be conceded, and supposing the sum total of the standing electors of this kingdom, who are at present allowed to exercise this power in derogation of the right of more than a million of their fellow-citizens, now excluded from their franchise, were to remain as at this day, it may reasonably be demanded, whether the 130,000 freeholders, who now enjoy the privilege of electing ninety-two members, are the persons, whom the landed interest would depute for this important purpose? Whether there be not a large proportion of them, who, notwithstanding their legal qualification, cannot claim, from their station in life, this great pre-eminence: and whether many copyholders are not rejected in the present system, whose independent circumstances would render them fitter objects of this trust?

With respect to the 84,000 citizens, burgesses, and other inhabitants of England, who elect the remaining 421 members, can we seriously maintain, that they properly re-

present the various branches of the commercial interest of this country? And can it be imagined, that the liberties and properties of more than five millions of people can be safe, when intrusted in the hands of representatives, of whom it has been demonstrated the majority may be returned by a number of electors less than 6000, consisting, in general, of the most dependent and most venal part of the community? *

I will dismiss the subject of representation for the present, and proceed to the next object of parliamentary reformation proposed by the Yorkshire committee, viz. the shortening the duration of parliaments to a period not exceeding three years.

I had the pleasure of concurring with the delegates in their first resolution respecting this subject. The propriety of the measure was ably debated, and the general sentiment decidedly in its favour. The resolution, as moved by sir James Norcliff, was as follows :

“ RESOLVED,

* See Burgh's "Political Disquisitions," vol. i. c. 4. and Mr. Wilkes's admirable speech in favour of a more equal representation of the people, March 21, 1776, in a collection of his speeches, in octavo, published 1786, p. 55.

“ RESOLVED,

“ That the bill, enacting the septennial duration of parliaments, was a violation of the rights of the people, by which the constitutional connection between the constituent body and the representative has been impaired, and the parliament exposed to great and systematic corruption.”

This resolution passed, with the following amendments: after the words, “ septennial duration of parliaments,” was inserted, “ however expedient it might have been rendered by the circumstances of the times,” and instead of “ systematic corruption,” was substituted “ unconstitutional influence.” I do not conceive these alterations to have been real improvements of this motion.

I have always imagined the triennial bill to be equally a violation of the constitution with the septennial. I conceive, also, that the proper business of a representative, as indeed is evident from the tenor of the ancient writs, is to act as an agent for his constituents in the great assembly of the nation, and, in their name, to assent to such

measures, as he apprehends they would approve. I would ask, whether the sense of the people can with propriety be supposed to be expressed in that assembly, by persons delegated, as it might happen, nearly three years before the actual issuing of the yearly proclamation for its convention?

Urged by the force of these reflections, I made the following motion, which, for want of being supported, occasioned no debate :

“ RESOLVED,

“ That the people of England have an undoubted right to an annual election of members to serve in the commons’ house of parliament; and that the act of the sixth of William the third, which afforded the first legal sanction to the duration of parliaments beyond a single session, was subversive of the constitution, and a violation, on the part of the representatives, of the sacred trust reposed in them by their constituents.”

It was with pain I differed from the Yorkshire gentlemen, and the majority of the
deputation

deputation in the subsequent resolution, which is now subjoined ;

“ RESOLVED,

“ That when by the peaceful and legal efforts of the people, a more frugal management of the public purse, and a more adequate representation in parliament shall have been obtained, the repeal of the septennial bill would form a strong barrier against the inroads of parliamentary corruption, and the alarming influence of the crown.”

I will not trouble the committee with a recital of the various reasons, which induced me to oppose the passing of this resolution. They were very different, I believe, from those which influenced the two other deputations, who concurred with me on this occasion. It may be sufficient for the present, to observe, that with some formality I declared, that I objected to this motion, “ because it postpones the redress of an acknowledged violation of the constitution, until that more frugal management of the public purse shall have been obtained, which I am persuaded the controlling power of a commons’

mons' house of parliament, elected in conformity to ancient usage, solely can effect.

Previously to my statement of the last motion I made in the assembly of delegates, I would beg leave to submit to you the following considerations, in the form of queries. If they should not have so much weight with the committee as they had with me, they may yet convince the gentlemen who compose it, that I did not act without reflection, and that if my conduct was erroneous, my intentions were nevertheless sincere.

1. Is it practicable to assign to the present 214,000 electors of England any such new arrangement, as shall render it possible for them to return a free and independent commons' house of parliament?

2. Does not the mode of electing two members for each county of this kingdom, however varying in extent and population, besides the obvious inequality it introduces into the representation, also give rise, especially in the larger counties, to that riot, confusion, and undue influence, which might effectually be removed, by a new allotment, into districts, each containing, as much as
may

may be, the same number of inhabitants, and electing one member ?

3. Do not the petitions to parliament, respecting contested elections in boroughs, almost intirely arise from the various qualifications annexed to the right of voting ? and, therefore, would not these contests, which form one of the strongest objections to the revival of the ancient constitutional parliaments of a single session, be almost unknown, if the legal age of the citizen were considered as the only qualification of the voter ?

4. Is there any absolute necessity for having recourse to the house of commons in order to re-establish the inhabitants of this country in their undoubted right to an equal, annual, and universal representation of themselves in parliament ? and would not an act of delegates, freely chosen by the people, assented to by the king and hereditary nobility, be sufficient for this purpose ? *

5. Is

* In my " Address to the freeholders of Middlesex," (p. 472—483 of this volume,) this question is treated more diffusely. I am satisfied the doctrine, maintained in that tract, is truly constitutional, and might be reduced to practice, by the peaceable efforts of the people.

5. Is it not the duty of all men, who wish well to their country, and have influence in the community, to state the substantial rights of the people, and to use such arguments as may induce them, by every legal and constitutional method, to assert them? *

6. Is it not much more likely that the commonalty of England, when national distresses shall have awakened them to a sense of their own misconduct, would embrace a mode of reformation, which actually reinstates them in the possession of an important franchise, than that they should interest themselves in the establishment of a system
of

† If that body of our fellow citizens, who, for many years, have opposed, in the commons' house of parliament, the ruinous measures of the present administration, were solemnly to secede from an assembly, in which it is impossible for argument, aided by the sublimest eloquence, to be of any avail: and, assembling the counties, would explain the grounds of their secession, and declare their persuasion, that the last hope of England now rests on the constitutional exertions of the collective body of the people, they would certainly discharge the duty they owe to their constituents, and, probably, preserve their country from impending destruction.

of measures, of which it requires a long train of circuitous reasoning to demonstrate to them the use?

The motion, grounded on the doctrine contained in the preceding queries, the greatest part of which I, with pleasure, acknowledge I have been led to adopt, in consequence of the incomparable publications of major Cartwright, was as follows :

“ Whereas, after solemn argument, and the most dispassionate discussion, it appears to this assembly, that the right of election for members to serve in the commons’ house of parliament (which at present, to the great detriment of the nation, is unwarrantably exercised by an inconsiderable portion of the community, in many respects incompetent to the discharge of so important a trust) doth in truth constitutionally appertain to, and might conveniently be exercised by every male inhabitant of the kingdom, arrived at the legal age of discretion. And whereas the people in their collective capacity (by reason that the voice of the commonalty of England is no less necessary to every legislative purpose, than that of either the king
or

or the lords) have a just and inherent right to correct the abuses of parliamentary representation, whenever such abuses shall have so increased, as to rob them of their constitutional share in their own government ;

“ RESOLVED,

“ That it be recommended to the committees of correspondence, established in this kingdom, to carry into immediate effect the proper measures, for collecting the free and unbiassed sense of the inhabitants of the several counties, cities, and boroughs of England, respecting the present unconstitutional infringements of their election franchises, and the means that should be employed for their recovery.”

I prefaced this motion with a defence of the principles upon which it was founded. I entered largely into the practicability and expediency of the measure ; and urged, that, as no alterations ought to be attempted, which did not meet with the full concurrence of the people, it was necessary to adopt
the

the proper means for collecting the sense of the people ; but this motion also, not being supported, occasioned no debate.

A motion being then made for the immediate dissolution of our assembly, I thought it my duty to oppose it. I wished that we might continue in existence until we were enabled, at least, to report the fate of our petition ; but I was unsupported in my opposition, and the meeting was dissolved.

I cannot be unconscious, that, from my own report, I stand exposed to the charge of singularity in many parts of my conduct ; I regard it as a misfortune : the gentlemen of the delegation are deservedly respected in point of integrity, ability, and public spirit ; they cannot have more sincere and zealous admirers than myself. With many of them I am united in the strictest bonds of friendship ; and I can truly say, I felt more poignant uneasiness, from my not being able to concur with them in sentiment, than I should have experienced of apprehension, had it been my lot to have stood single amidst an host of foes.

It is possible, but I deliver it only as matter

ter of opinion, that some gentlemen in the delegation might think it prudent for us to insist only on a portion of what might justly be demanded, for the purpose of conciliating the favourable attention of a powerful party to our views. But it may not be unuseful to reflect, that we are agents for the democratical part of the constitution, and that it is not reasonable to expect, that we shall be strenuously supported by the nobility, unless when the common danger shall become extreme: in such circumstances the virtuous part of the nobility will unite with us. When that danger is at a distance, retaining the natural prejudices of their order, they will not be sanguine in our cause: I say this with an exception of some elevated characters, whose generosity of sentiment, in supporting the rights of the people, is above my praise.

With respect to the commonalty at large, I am satisfied the present languor of patriotism did not originate with them; they were inclined in the last year to adopt the most spirited measures; but, through the want
of

of concord in their leaders, they now, alas ! know not in whom they can confide.

I am not an advocate for an intemperate expression of zeal, nor inclined to appeal even to the constitutional powers of the people upon trivial occasions, and without a prospect of success. But I am persuaded, that a timely declaration of the popular sentiment, respecting the long violated rights of representation, would be the most likely method of preventing the further inroads of despotism, and the final ruin of the state.*

Ever since I took a part in politics, I have esteemed it my duty to avow, and to bring forward, to the utmost of my power, those maxims, which I believed would promote
the

* With such declaration might, with propriety, be combined a remonstrance against the continuance of the american war, and a disavowal of the principles and practices, which gave occasion to its commencement. A remonstrance of this nature, expressed in manly, yet respectful, language to the throne, though it might not bend certain of those inflexible spirits who surround it, would probably dispose the hearts of our american brethren to peace, and to the concession of many commercial advantages in their power to grant, as a free and independent people.

the peace and prosperity of my country. In political and religious disquisitions, as well as in philosophical, it is surely a point of prudence to encourage a free communication of such hints, as, in the opinion of the proposers, may benefit mankind. Many doctrines, now universally received, were, at one period, the opinions of a few private individuals, which though, for a time, opposed by the combinations of interest, an open appeal to the good sense of the community, at length hath carried into effect. An unrestrained communication of sentiments is essential to freedom of discussion : and that persevering unanimity, which is the result of conviction, can flourish only where a free discussion hath previously prevailed. For these reasons, I conceive that the moment, in which truth first suggests itself to the mind, is the proper season for declaring it.

With regard to the instance before us, the matter may be brought to this short issue ; whether it may be more expedient to withhold a doctrine conducive to the interests of the people ; to suspend our exertions, in a cause demonstrably just ; because such doctrine or such exertions may possibly be offensive

sensitive to persons, whom we might wish to conciliate: or, relying on those energies, which an open avowal of political truth would, most probably, excite in the breasts of englishmen of every description, intrepidly assert it in the face of our country, regardless of opposition from whatever quarter it may arise. This is a question which futurity may probably decide.* My own senti-

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ments

* It has, of late years, been too much the custom, with men of every description, to express an unfavourable opinion of the general disposition of the english people. They have been repeatedly represented as strangers to principle in virtue and religion, and totally degenerate with regard to the love of liberty and public spirit.

I can by no means assent to a position, which exhibits my fellow-citizens in so unpleasing a point of view. I am persuaded that the contrary is a fact. I am persuaded, that there does not only exist sufficient virtue in this country, to preserve what is left of the forms of the constitution, but that there also remains such a portion of public spirit, as, under proper direction, would restore that constitution to its primæval integrity and splendor.

When the brave and injured Keppel endured that memorable conflict, to which the arts of base detraction had exposed him, with a firmness and composure, which conscious innocence could alone afford. What were the sentiments, that occupied the minds of the attentive audience

ments are sufficiently apparent ; and, I trust, this avowal of them will be received with candour by yourself and the other gentlemen of the committee, to whom, with the utmost respect and most cordial good wishes, they are addressed by their

devoted humble servant,

JOHN JEBB.

Craven-street, May 13, 1781.

audience at that important hour ? Respect for injured merit, strong resentment, and anxious expectation, by turns, maintained the intire possession of their souls. And at the moment of his acquittal, when surrounded by his fellow-citizens, he obtained a triumph, more truly honourable, more truly glorious, than England yet had witnessed, did not a spirit, manly and exalted as his own, inform each english breast ?

Nor were these sentiments of more than roman virtue, confined to the spectators of this affecting scene : they diffused themselves with resistless energy to the remotest quarters of the island ; and, while the meanest of the multitude felt those generous emotions, which public virtue only can inspire, “ decus et tutamen,” the proper motto of nobility, appeared to be inscribed in splendid characters on each illustrious brow.

Is it possible that my fellow-citizens, who interested themselves so warmly in the cause of injured virtue, should remain utterly insensible, when their country calls ? Can a nation, thus feeling for another’s honour, long continue regardless of its own ?

L E T T E R S

ADDRESSED TO

THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND,

ON THE SUBJECT OF

A PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

FIRST COLLECTED
AND PUBLISHED TOGETHER
MDCCLXXXIV.

L E T T E R S

ADDRESSED TO
THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND.

L E T T E R I.

TO LIEUT. COL. SHARMAN, &c.

S I R,

I AM informed by Mr. Joy, in a letter dated the first instant, that the committee, of which you are chairman, have done me the honour to desire, that I would communicate to you my sentiments, respecting a parliamentary reform.

Ever since the commencement of the late important movements in your kingdom, I have conceived the reformation of your house of commons, as a measure, essentially necessary to the establishment of the liberties of Ireland upon a permanent foundation.

You have wisely reserved the consideration of this work to the present moment. If it be conducted with the same manly and de-

terminated spirit, which has characterized your former exertions, there is no doubt, but that, under the providence of heaven, you will secure to yourselves and your posterity, a portion of national felicity, of domestic peace, of external honour, far transcending what has hitherto been exhibited or enjoyed in any age or clime.

The matter before you may be considered with respect to the point of expediency, and the point of right.

With respect to the latter, my opinion is decided. By the constitution, a certain portion of the legislative power is reserved to the commons; who, from the circumstance of their numbers, are obliged to exercise this important function by delegation.

The power of delegation appears to me to be as extensive, as the obligation of bearing arms for the common defence. I have long considered every restriction of the right of suffrage, as an infringement of the law of nature, as well as subversive of the constitution of my country.

I am of opinion, also, that political truth and political expediency, are terms synonymous ;

mous; and, therefore, am disposed to think, that the only advice I can, with propriety, offer to a body of men, who have conducted themselves with so much moderation, magnanimity, and public spirit, is, “ Go on, with full reliance upon the justice of your cause; investigate the rights of freemen; assert them; establish them in their full extent. I cannot believe that the accomplishment of any measure, founded in political truth, can be impossible to such exalted virtue.”

However, as many expedients have been suggested upon the idea, that, on account of prejudices, what is strictly right cannot be put in practice, it may not be improper to inquire, how far these expedients are likely to answer the intended purpose. It has been conceived, that the addition of a certain number of county members would assist in balancing the corrupt representation of the boroughs; a measure, in my idea, as inexpedient as it is partial and unjust.

First; because, if it fail in effectually over-balancing the powers of corruption, it increases the grievance, by enhancing the
national

national expense ; as a minister, in such circumstances, must employ a greater portion of the public treasure in gaining a majority than before. In lord North's opinion, such a measure would have nothing in it formidable to an administration, determined to govern by court influence. On the decision of the great debate on this question, he was heard to declare, that the friends of the proposed reform would have been worsted, had the hundred knights been present ; the majority that day far exceeding that number.

Secondly ; the proposed addition would render the house of commons too numerous. In Ireland, such an increase of the county members as would be necessary to form an effectual balance to the borough interest, would be greater, in proportion, than in England.

Thirdly ; the seats for counties would be disposed of absolutely at the pleasure of a few of the principal landholders, while the great body of the freeholders would enjoy less of the elective power than they do at present.

Lastly ; the expenses of contested elections,

tions, especially in the larger counties, would be most enormously increased.

It has also been suggested, that it would be expedient to disfranchise some of the boroughs in those counties, where they are most numerous, especially such whose constitution is most exceptionable; and to make a compensation to the present proprietors at the public expence. Nothing can be urged, in my idea, against this measure. So far as it goes, it is both equitable and expedient. The transferring from such boroughs the right of election to townships, or districts, which, from the greater number of inhabitants, and other circumstances, appear more likely to preserve their independence, would be an improvement upon this idea.

The generous principles you have adopted respecting roman catholics, have been attended with effects, very different from what were expected by persons of less enlarged sentiments. Yet, perhaps, there are few, who would not be alarmed at the idea of conceding to them the power of electing representatives of their own persuasion. Many might think it imprudent to allow them the
exercise

exercise of the right of suffrage, were even their choice restricted to the persons of protestants. Local difficulties must be best known to persons on the spot. I can only reason from general principles. If men are allowed to hold property, to possess rights, to bear arms; I cannot see any substantial reason why they should not also be allowed a share in the appointment of those who make the laws. By such generous confidence, I should conceive, their prejudices would be softened, and their attachment to the public, of which they would then become a component part, increased. At any rate, so far as regards protestants, the right of suffrage may, with great propriety, be extended far beyond its present limits.

Sessional parliaments (i. e. parliaments of a single session) are the only parliaments that can be esteemed constitutional: the nearer you approach to right and ancient usage, the nearer you will approach to the point of true political expedience.

With respect to the mode of effecting the reform in question, I own, I feel strong objections to the idea of applying to the house
of

of commons by petition. If the present mode of delegation answers not the purpose of its institution, it is the proper office of the persons immediately interested (i. e. the constituent body) to form a plan for its amendment.

May I be permitted, without imputation of presumption, to express my unreserved opinion on this momentous subject.

After passing resolutions, expressive of the rights of the people to review the whole system of delegation, and declaratory of the principles, upon which a true and proper representation ought to be constructed, let a committee from yourselves be appointed to draw the outline of a plan, which you shall judge to be effectual, the most extensive and liberal that the times will bear.

Let this plan be proposed to the house of commons ; and, at the same time, let a certain period be specified, in which you conceive the wisdom of that house may finally complete the plan you shall offer to their consideration. And, lastly, let your present assembly be adjourned to a reasonable time beyond the period, in which the plan may be conceived to be offered for assent to the
other

other branches of the legislature. The intervening conduct of parliament will suggest the proper measures to be adopted at such adjourned meeting.

Petition seems to acknowledge a power in the house of commons of rejecting your suit. It transfers the authority from the senders to the sent. It supposes, in the majority of the house, a dignity and independence, which the nature of the petition evidently implies they do not possess. It calls upon them to reform themselves; which a corrupt body of men never did, nor can do.

Thus, with an undisguised heart, I have unfolded my idea upon this important question. May consistency, public spirit, and magnanimity, with true wisdom, continue to preside in your assemblies! Though absent in person, yet in spirit, and most fervent wishes for your success, I shall be present with you.

I remain, with great respect,

for the committee and yourself,

your obedient servant,

JOHN JEBB.

Aug. 13, 1783.

L E T T E R II.

S I R,

IN the letter which I yesterday did myself the honour of addressing to you, I stated, in very general terms, my ideas respecting a reform in your representation, and the means of effecting it. In this, I propose to submit to your consideration some unconnected observations, in explanation, or confirmation, of the opinions I have already advanced; trusting that your respectable committee will receive with candour, what I shall offer with integrity of purpose.

I am very sensible that you have difficulties to struggle with peculiar to your country; others, which are common to both countries; but none, thank heaven, which can be esteemed unfurmountable, when we reflect upon the past.

The plan of universal representation, by a new arrangement into districts, each district electing one member, is, I think, by far the most practicable plan that can be proposed. The address of the delegates of the Ulster regiment

regiment asserts, that the right of being governed only by laws of his own making, is the birth-right of man; a proposition equally true, whether the terms of it be applied to nations, or to the individuals of which they are composed.

Contested elections generally arise from disputes concerning qualifications; which can never be stated in so definite a manner, when any degree of property is established as a requisite, as not to minister matter for innumerable perjuries and endless altercations.

It is impossible to conceive that voters, in general, will put themselves to the expense and trouble of travelling from one side of an extensive county to the other, to give their suffrages, without some compensation. Laws to prevent bribery or corruption, in such circumstances, have always hitherto been evaded, and thus have increased the evils they were intended to remedy. Laws enacted to prevent the candidate from bearing the expenses of an elector, inhabiting the extremity of Yorkshire, to the place of election, will either be eluded, or operate as a disfranchisement.

disfranchisement. The utmost exertion of human intellect cannot invent a method of taking the suffrages of an extensive county, which will not be liable to strong objections. If you increase the number of county members, the difficulties are increased: a division of the larger counties into districts, appears, therefore, necessary, whatever be the plan of reform you shall think proper to adopt, with respect to the qualification of the voters.

If a less extensive plan than what has been hinted be adopted, it will be prudent to leave the matter open for posterity to improve upon it, if they judge proper. We know not what is really impracticable before trial; we have seen what Ireland has effected in less than four years. The objections to the plan of the duke of Richmond and major Cartwright, and the apprehensions, which many entertain of danger, from admitting roman catholics to the intire rights of citizenship, may appear scarcely worthy of a moment's consideration at no very distant period.

Unanimity is certainly very desirable, but

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there are two sorts of unanimity: one of which consists in blindly following the dictates of a few; the other, is the result of calm and dispassionate inquiry into the real relations of things. I allow, on one side, that it would be imprudent to aim at establishing more than what will meet with general concurrence: on the other, I maintain, that many present prejudices may naturally be expected to give way, when a fair appeal is made to the understandings of men, and truth is held forth to public view, by characters, who justly possess the confidence of the people. The generous sentiments of the Ulster volunteers, respecting religious toleration, diffused themselves with rapidity inconceivable through the breasts of millions; and, I trust, that many of them will live to see their fair example followed by more than half the european world. I will only further observe upon this point, that unless enough be done to render the true interest of the country predominant in the house of commons,—nothing is done.

It appears to me, that you will lead the way in the great point of parliamentary re-formation.

formation. Next to yourselves, Scotland appears most in earnest. It is, therefore, on many accounts, that I wish you may be able to effect your purpose. Your success will greatly facilitate the establishment of a similar reform in this kingdom. I trust, that our committees will emulate your generosity and candour; and, by inviting and cultivating a free and open correspondence, avail themselves of whatever light the friends of liberty in Scotland and Ireland may be able to suggest. I have sent inclosed two of your own addresses, with a resolution of our society for constitutional information, at the head of them. May the spirit they breathe, contribute towards the re-kindling of that flame of liberty, which once was wont to burn with so bright a lustre in the breasts of englishmen.

I have also taken the liberty to inclose the report of the Westminster sub-committee, respecting an annual, equal, and universal representation of the commons of England; my own address to the freeholders of Middlesex, and some other tracts, which state, with better arguments than I can urge, the

objections to the less extensive plans that have been proposed in this kingdom. Among these, the letter of Mr. Batley to the rev. Mr. Wyvill, respecting the inexpediency of adding an hundred county members, appears well worthy of perusal.

I attended closely to the debates of your parliament, when Mr. Grattan and Mr. Yelverton first proposed their motions in the house of commons. I saw the force of influence, and I despaired. The volunteer spirit arose, and Ireland was emancipated from its chains! A new parliament may contain a greater number of real friends to freedom; but an incurable vice is inherent in its constitution. If it be left to parliament to form a plan, the scheme will infallibly be defeated. The aristocratic interest, united with the regal, like a blight from the east, will assuredly blast every hope of harvest. While you retain the matter in your own hands, you cannot fail of effecting, under providence, the permanent salvation of your country. At the ensuing meeting, it may be agreed how far the exercise of the right of suffrage should extend;
a general

a general outline of a plan may be drawn for a division of the counties into districts; the disfranchisement of some boroughs, and the transferring the right of electing members to more populous townships, may be proposed; and the most material regulations, respecting the taking of the suffrages of the electors, pointed out. At an adjourned meeting, you will be able to judge, how far parliament has complied with the wishes of the people. The resolves and instructions of your constituents will give sufficient weight and authority to your proceedings, at such a period.

Once more requesting your favourable indulgence, and with my heartiest good wishes for the success of a measure, in the event of which, the cause of public virtue, of civil and religious liberty, is so deeply interested,

I remain, &c.

Brighthelmston,
14th Aug. 1783.

L E T T E R III.

S I R,

I RECEIVED, last thursday, the favour of your letter, dated the eleventh instant, *
and

[The following, is a copy of the letter from lieutenant-colonel Sharman, above referred to. (See " A collection of letters to the volunteers of Ireland," printed for J. Stockdale, 1783, p. 108—111.)

S I R,

Lisburn, Oct. 11, 1783.

As chairman of the Ulster committee of correspondence, I am directed to return you our warmest thanks, for your very obliging and useful communications on the subject of a parliamentary reform; to assure you, that we entertain the most grateful sense of your kind attention, and of the great trouble you have taken on this occasion; and to enclose you a copy of the resolves of the provincial assembly of volunteers.

Our acknowledgments had been sooner made, had not the multiplicity of business which devolved on this committee, both antecedent and subsequent to the meeting at Dungannon, very much engrossed our time; this seeming neglect, we rely on your good-nature to excuse.

The provinces of Leinster and Connaught have already called general meetings on the same subject; Munster had in part declared before; and, there is no doubt, will now join the rest. You will observe, that in the public resolves of Ulster, we have confined ourselves to such general principles and objects, as we were
convinced

and cordially congratulate you upon the pleasing prospect of success to those exer-

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tions,]

convinced would secure unanimity, both in this and the other provinces; on the specific mode of reform, the provinces might differ; different opinions might have arisen amongst ourselves; our plan of reform (the outlines of which I annex) is, therefore, submitted to the grand national convention; what they shall agree upon, the kingdom at large, I dare say, will acquiesce in, and support with their united powers; and against that union resistance will be vain.

In the course of our deliberations, the utmost attention was paid to the opinions and communications of all our illustrious and much-respected correspondents; we could not, however, in every point apply them to the situation of this kingdom; and where we find great and good men, equally zealous in the cause, differ with respect to the mode, our only choice was to adopt that which seemed to us most applicable to the country we live in.

Our counties, towns, and parishes, are now taking up the subject, and calling public meetings to declare their accession to the Dungannon resolves, and to instruct their representatives on the subject of a parliamentary reform. We earnestly wish to see the good people of Great-Britain press forward in the promotion of the same important object, convinced that the united efforts of the sister nations must prove irresistible.

I am, with the utmost respect,

sir, your most obedient humble servant,

Wm. SHARMAN.

Dr. Jebb,
Parliament-street.

tions, which have been as exemplary as the object is important. A more important object, indeed, never agitated the human mind! It involves in it the cause of public virtue, of civil and religious liberty; and bids fair to secure whatever can be valuable in the sight of nations, or of individuals, to yourselves and your posterity for ever.

I esteemed myself highly honoured by the letter, which I received by order of your respectable committee, in last August. I esteem myself much more so by your favourable acceptance of my communications; of which I can say, with truth, that they proceeded from a heart friendly to the interests of Ireland, and devoted to your cause.

I have no doubt, but that many individuals in your late convention gave up their own private opinions, from the best motives, in deference to what they judged most likely to prove the prevailing opinions of the country. You have had many difficulties to struggle with; you have acted a most glorious part; may that good providence, which
hath

hath hitherto favoured your exertions; continue to direct them, until you shall have accomplished your honourable purpose; until you shall have gratified the laudable desire of conveying the inestimable blessings, attendant upon a well-constructed form of civil government, to remotest generations! I rejoice in the firm and manly declarations of the counties, &c. in support of the resolutions of Dungannon; they will, doubtless, add force irresistible to those resolves. Over external influence you have already triumphed; and what internal power can oppose itself to the general voice of a people determined to be free?

In this interval, between the present moment and the general convention, while many questions lie before the public in a state of indecision, I cannot restrain myself from offering my sentiments upon certain points, which were more slightly touched upon in my former letters, than their importance required. If the opinions, to which I have been so long partial, be unfounded, they will be justly disregarded: if they be agreeable

agreeable to right reason, the discussion of them cannot be unseasonable, and may possibly answer some good purpose.

Whether the specific mode of a parliamentary reform, which it may appear reasonable for public wisdom to adopt, originate with the people, or their present representatives, is not a question merely speculative; upon its just solution, in my idea, is founded every rational expectation of success.

Common sense instructs us, and the experience of human life confirms its dictates, that, in ordinary occurrences, the party immediately aggrieved is best qualified to state the injuries it suffers, and to explain the nature of the required redress. It is also of consequence, in the present argument, to reflect, that the question, respecting a reform of the house of commons, is not merely a question of expedience, but of right.

It is the very essence of a commons' house of parliament, that it faithfully express the voice of the commons. In consequence of the

the present imperfect constitution of that house, the direct contrary is the fact. It does not express the voice of the commons; and it does express, either jointly or alternately, the voice of the aristocracy, and the inclinations of the crown.

The reason of such deviation from its primary function, is as obvious as the fact. The commons' house of parliament is not elected by the commons. A small portion of the commons, under the most evident influence, is its present constituent; and even this small portion exercises its elective franchise only once in eight years.

In these circumstances, the mode of redress is plain and simple. The present delegation ceasing to answer its evident intention; the essential rights of the third estate being subtracted; * with the parties immediately concerned and injured, it lies to
concert

* It may not be improper, upon this occasion, also to observe, that the power assumed by the commons' house, of imprisoning the subject upon pretence of breach of privilege; the denial of the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus* to persons thus imprisoned; the claim of decid-
ing

concert the requisite measures for their re-stitution.

It appears equally clear, that the proper mode of giving efficacy to their wishes and resolutions is, the with-holding of the supplies.

If the denial of right to every male inhabitant, not disqualified by mental imbecility or criminal conduct, be the injury, the restoration of the right of universal suffrage is the remedy. If the deviation from the ancient usage to the octennial exercise of the elective franchise be both impolitic and injurious, the recovery of the right of annual elections is the only satisfactory redress. If the question being fairly proposed, the commons of Ireland shall acquiesce for the present in the recovery of less than their undoubted right, with respect to universal suffrage, themselves and their posterity are the

ing upon the merits of contested elections ; the arbitrary exclusion of their constituents from the place of their assembly, are equally unconstitutional and illegal. They only form a small portion of those usurpations, which so loudly call for the exertion of the visitatorial authority of the people.

the parties immediately interested; and, therefore, the collective body of the commons in this, as well as in the former instances, can alone give the proper sanction to the reform.

I am, therefore, decidedly of opinion, that it is the interest, the right, and the duty of the commons, by themselves, or their delegates, expressly appointed for the purpose, to state the injury, and to exhibit a specific plan for its redress.

The present house of commons, by the nature of its constitution, has not the power, and, I am satisfied, the majority has not the will.

Provided, however, these points are thoroughly understood, and are sufficiently declared; provided also a specific plan be formed by the ensuing convention, published and avowed by the counties, &c. as the rightful demand of the people, and its proper sanction be acknowledged to consist in their consent, its passage through the present house may not be liable to any material objection. But this is far from being necessary,

fary, as I have elfewhere endeavoured to demonftrate.*

It was the charge of fir Geo. Savile againft an english houfe of commons; a charge avowed in its prefence, with that manly fpirit which has ever diftinguifhed his conduct, “ that it had betrayed its conftituents.” From what evidences, hitherto afforded to the public, are we authorized to conclude, that their fucceffors are actuated by more honourable motives? Can it for a moment be fupposed poffible, that the prefent houfe of commons, in either kingdom, will ferioufly promote the wifhes of the people? The intereft, to which the majority of the members owe their election; the influence to which they are fubject, will ever be apparent in their conduct. Hence, at once, are evident the neceffity of a reform in the representation of the people, and the propriety of the prefent movements, for the purpofe of carrying fuch reform into effect. A delegation, like that appointed to meet upon the tenth of next month, will, I have no doubt, be faithful to its truft. I am happy in being able to add, that it will read its line of duty, and
trace

[* See “ Addrefs to freeholders,” &c. p. 472—483.]

trace the path of real glory in the first, the second, the ninth, and fifteenth resolution of the Ulster volunteers.

At the ensuing convention it will also, in all probability, be debated, how far it may be expedient to restore the rights of citizenship to your roman catholic brethren.

The position, that a difference of opinion, upon matters merely religious, ought not to be pleaded as a reason for the subtraction of natural or civil rights, has always appeared to me decisively just. I have long been persuaded, that the two general practice of confining the enjoyment of civil privileges, within the pale of a particular communion, is equally intolerant and unwise; and have constantly contended, that every person in the community, who preserves inviolate that common bond of allegiance, which is the evidence of the union of its members, ought to be supported in the undisturbed possession of his right of rising to the attainment of every honour and emolument, to which his honest industry, the favour of his fellow-citizens, or royal inclination can exalt him. The sixteenth proposition of the Dungannon resolves,

resolves, is a sufficient evidence of the liberality of your sentiments upon this subject. Your conduct will do you honour in the eyes of all Europe, and may, by the blessing of heaven, independently of other advantages, produce the most important consequences to the cause of religious liberty and true protestantism, in every part of Christendom.

Local circumstances, it has been urged, may, with propriety, be pleaded against compliance with a principle and line of conduct, which, without such circumstances, would be undeniably just.

We are too apt to reason from the feelings and prejudices of former ages. Let us reason rather from facts, which the present exhibits to our view. Let us attend to the constitutions of the american states, particularly to that of Maryland. In that state, protestants and papists live together, under the protection of equal laws, in perfect peace. No incapacities or disqualifications, on account of religion, are observed in their code. The exertions of the human intellect are there unfettered by those iniquitous restraints, which dishonour european climes :
every

every man, therefore, lives in charity with his neighbour, and the rage of profelytism is unknown.

Are then the hearts of roman catholics in your country so obdurate, that they are incapable of being softened by mild and generous treatment? And is it in Ireland alone, that acts of justice and philanthropy will fail in producing their customary effects?

Nor is the measure I am partial to solely recommended by considerations of humanity and common right. It is agreeable also to the soundest policy, which ever dictates to us, that the whole power of a community should, without any undue partiality, be employed in promoting its agriculture, its manufactures, and its commerce, on which immediately depend the true glory and real strength of a country, the happiness of its citizens, and the stability of its government. Many in administration envy you the enjoyment of your present privileges. These will unquestionably avail themselves of any ill humours, which may be consequent upon a refusal of the roman catholic

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claims ; they will foment the rising differences between you, and eagerly seize the opportunities which circumstances may afford them, of recovering every advantage you have gained. Your kingdom, united within itself, will be able to withstand the utmost efforts of its enemies ; but if disunion should take place, you will fall an easy prey to the despotism of men, who upon so many occasions have manifested themselves the declared enemies of the common rights of mankind. The mild and gentle spirit of our religion teaches us to enter into the sorrows of our neighbour, to make his sufferings our own. How grievous must it appear to the feelings of so many of your brethren, differenced from you only in their religious persuasions, that, however your common country may increase in affluence and splendor, they are precluded from bearing a part in the general joy ! fettered by restrictions, only to be vindicated in times of avowed hostility, and condemned with their innocent posterity in a land of freedom to live the life of slaves !

The question is brought to this short issue :
by engaging so large a portion of your fellow-
citizens

citizens in your cause, you will gain a parliament above the power of corruption ; your country will be united ; your emancipation will be permanent and complete. By denying them a share of those advantages which you claim for yourselves, you will impair your own title to the blessings of liberty, and must expect to live, for generations, in little less than a state of actual hostility with the majority of your countrymen.

The denial of equitable claims is ever full of difficulty and danger : the paths of justice and humanity are paths of pleasantness ; are paths of peace.

When under the influence of mild and equal laws, human industry shall be generally excited and encouraged, and that monster intolerance, the bane of human happiness, shall be banished from the state, is it not reasonable to conclude, that religious prejudices also will give way, and truth extend her salutary empire over the minds of men, in proportion as the light of science, the constant concomitant of an enlarged intercourse with our species, shall prevail ?

The politicians of the day fail in execut-

ing their bad purposes, through false conceptions of the human character : our government reasoned as inconclusively, as it acted iniquitously, in the american controversy ; the event is too well known. Whereas a compliance with the obvious rules of justice, by allowing free scope to the virtuous energies of the mind, enables us to overcome obstacles apparently unfurmountable, and leads to happiness and peace.

It may further be urged, that the roman catholic laity no longer acknowledge that the sovereign pontiff hath authority to dispense with the solemn obligation of an oath. They, I doubt not, would afford you the most unequivocal evidences of attachment to your government ; and, if generously dealt with, would feel themselves too much interested in the general peace and prosperity to wish, that the times of disorder and confusion may return. Might it not be proposed, as a condition of your indulgence, that they should assent to a solemn renunciation of those claims, which may at present alarm you ? to a declaration that every species of persecution for religion is antichristian and unlawful ?

unlawful? to an oath of allegiance, which would not interfere with the right of conscience, and yet afford a sufficient security to yourselves? A conference of a few days, perhaps of a few hours, with the leading people of the roman catholic persuasion would probably terminate a difference, which has subsisted for generations, and to which, if the maxims of past ages be adhered to, human sagacity can see no end; at least, no end that can be contemplated with pleasure.

I will conclude a letter, which, I fear, has been too long, with a recapitulation of the principal circumstances of the case.

A reform in the constitution of your commons' house of parliament is indispensably necessary to your security, and to your happiness. You are disposed to pursue this object with that spirit and perseverance, which can alone, under providence, produce success. The most effective part of the english government; all the enemies of parliamentary reform in the three kingdoms; the administration of Ireland; the aristocracy of Ireland; the hierarchy in both countries, are most assuredly adverse to your claims. During

the progress of this business, a question arises whether you should not, from principles of equity and sound policy, at the same time that you establish your own liberties, be attentive to the degraded and suffering situation of your roman catholic brethren? I can only offer the opinion of an individual. Others, equally well-disposed to your cause, in abilities far superior, may be persuaded of the propriety of a different course of conduct. It is my decided idea, that the full establishment of equal liberty: the concession of the rights of citizenship to men of every religious persuasion; and an independent parliament; a parliament, which expresses the real sense of the people, can alone render you triumphant over the interested opposition and restless machinations of the former parties; the latter wait only for a single act of kindness to become your friends for ever.*

It

* By the late accounts transmitted from Ireland, it appears, that administration has been active, and, according to their own idea, very successful, in their efforts to obstruct that parliamentary reform, which various circumstances now evince to be essentially necessary to the political salvation of that country.

Whether

It is with pleasure I acquaint you, that
the friends to a parliamentary reform in this
N n 4 country

Whether the violent measure, recently adopted by the irish parliament, originated with the secretary of the home-department, (lord North) or the house of Cavendish, is a matter of little importance to the public. Both parties act in strictest concert with each other, and now must be considered as jointly endeavouring to depress that spirit of freedom, which the despotic principles of the one, and the aristocratic prejudices of the other, equally lead them to detest. I will, however, venture to predict, that disappointment and disgrace will, in the present instance, attend their counsels. The ill-judged opposition of the administration and parliament of Ireland, to the voice of the collective body of the people, in a cause peculiarly their own, will, in all human probability, render the triumph of the friends of freedom more complete, and this, perhaps, at no very distant period. The fire of genuine patriotism is not thus to be extinguished.

“ Presumptuous man ! think’st thou yon envious cloud,
Rais’d by thy breath, has quench’d the orb of day ?
To-morrow he repairs the golden flood,
And warms the nations with redoubled ray.”

GRAY.

The loss of public confidence, an evil more alarming than the loss of public credit, now so justly apprehended, renders it more necessary than ever for the people to unite ; I will add, to associate, in support of the only measure, which, under providence, can preserve the expiring liberties of England. I must confess, that, with others, I long indulged the fond persuasion, that
the

country seem to receive new courage in consequence of your exertions ; and, agreeably
to

the spirit and abilities of Mr. Fox would strenuously, and at length successfully, have been exerted in restoring the mutilated constitution of his country. During the period of our intercourse, it was my constant effort to impress his mind with the persuasion, that by employing his splendid talents in the support of constitutional liberty, and the cause of the people, he would attain the utmost height of power, to which an honest ambition could aspire, and, at the same time, live honoured and revered by every friend to the interests of his country and mankind. His exemplary attachment to the cause of suffering humanity, in the american question, strongly induced me to believe, that his heart was upright, that his professions were sincere. It was, therefore, with feelings most distressing, that I received the intelligence of his union with a party, hostile to America, to Ireland, to the real interests of Britain, to the sacred cause of civil and religious liberty, to the human species. I remonstrated against so disgraceful and portentous a coalition, with all the warmth and earnestness of friendship ; but, I remonstrated in vain. When I recalled to my mind his former exertions in the cause of freedom ; when I recollected with what resistless energy he had employed every captivating power of his unrivalled eloquence in her support, the dark transaction seemed illusion, the work of fancy, or the operation of that malignant principle, that represents as real the defection from virtue, which it wishes may be fact. Alas ! it was my lot to lament over him, as fallen from the fairest pinnacle of human glory, while others surrounded him with congratulations upon his elevation to the height of power !

The

to your own animating expression, “ see, in your success, the certain harbinger of their own.”

I remain, with cordial good wishes to yourself and your respectable committee,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN JEBB.

Parliament-street,

Oct. 25, 1783.

The recollection of that attachment, by which our hearts were once united, might dispose me to rejoice, were some future day to exhibit him again awake to the sacred call of freedom and of public virtue; but confidence hath fled, I fear, never to return.

At present, with astonishment, mingled with the most sensible regret, I behold him the associate and the advocate of men, in principle and practice most despotic; the adviser of measures equally impolitic and unjust; I will add, unprecedented in the annals of mankind: measures, which at once shake all the securities of property to their foundation, and create an accession of influence to the minister, which threatens to render him triumphant over every species of constitutional control.

Is it possible, I would ask him, once more appealing to the unbiassed sentiments of his heart, that, with an understanding so exalted, he can prefer the character and fame of Richlieu, the arbitrary minister of the thirteenth Lewis, the subverter of the remaining liberties of France; to the splendid glory, that in every future age will encircle the brow of the immortal Sully, the friend of Henry, the friend of man?

Dec. 6, 1783.

T H O U G H T S
ON THE
CONSTRUCTION AND POLITY
OF
P R I S O N S,
WITH
HINTS FOR THEIR IMPROVEMENT.

FIRST PUBLISHED MDCCLXXXV.
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AND PUBLISHED, SINCE HIS DEATH,
BY CAPEL LOFFT, ESQ.

T H O U G H T S
ON THE
CONSTRUCTION AND POLITY
OF
P R I S O N S.

IT is much to be lamented, but it is undeniably true, that whenever business is permitted to be transacted without a controlling power and frequent inspection, the persons to whom such business is committed too generally neglect or abuse their trust. Places of confinement, on many accounts, are unpleasing objects : and the miserable portion of mankind who are consigned to those dreary mansions too frequently feel, in the tyranny of their keepers, and other severities, the effect of that disregard of their fellow-citizens which is the general concomitant of exclusion from the busy scenes of life. Whatever, therefore, removes the general reluctance to inspect these doleful abodes of distress,* may possibly tend to diminish the horrors of their state.

It

* See Mr. Howard's remarks on the urgent occasion for appointing an inspector (honorary and without salary).

It is the secret, but indelible persuasion, that lofty walls and iron doors, and grated windows, enclose disease, as well as misery of other kinds, which prevents the exertions of the compassionate from being employed in lessening the calamities of confinement. Whatever regulations, therefore, shall subject places of confinement to the salutary and cheering influence of the winds and light of heaven, may at once relieve the sufferers from the languor of sickness, and from the tyranny too often exercised by the inexorable ministers of public justice. I mean that kind of tyranny founded upon neglect and the denial of the common necessities of human nature, which the excellent Mr. Howard has so strikingly unfolded in his immortal work; a work, at once the strongest exhibition of philanthropy since the foundation of our religion, and the severest satire on the species.

As a basis for my subsequent reflections, I propose the two following queries, suggested principally

lary) to every prison; either delegated from the magistracy, in rotation, or otherwise, or constituted by parliament.—See “State of the prisons in England and Wales, with preliminary observations, and an account of some foreign prisons and hospitals.” the 3d edit. p. 36.

principally by observations in the line of my profession.

I. Is it not absolutely necessary, in order fully to remove the bad effects of that stagnation of air and accumulation of putrid effluvia from living bodies, to which the unhealthy state of our prisons is chiefly to be imputed, that the place of confinement should be ventilated frequently, by currents of fresh air moving freely in an horizontal direction, in such a manner as intirely to change that part of the atmosphere which is incumbent over the surface of habitation ?

II. Is it possible that this can be effected, be the interior arrangements what they may, while the place of confinement is enclosed within four walls rising high above the level of the inhabited surface ?

On the contrary ; will not infection, once received, continue, under such circumstances, to exert its deleterious powers, with various degrees of malignity, for a great length of time ; in defiance of every precaution that human sagacity can suggest ?

The situation of prisons, at a distance from other buildings, with the conveniences attendant upon an elevated ground, and a running stream of water, would certainly
be

be preferable to the present practice of erecting them in the closest part of towns. But these improvements, I conceive, will be of little avail, without the aid of the following, which I esteem as a regulation essentially necessary to the removal of those inconveniences, which are so severely felt, in the first instance, by the unhappy sufferers under confinement, and, eventually, by the community at large.

It appears to me, that in preference to the method hitherto observed for the purpose of security, a dry moat, with shelving sides, covered with grass, should, like a line of circumvallation, surround, at a proper distance, the place of confinement. And that a wall (equal, perhaps, in height to those which at present surround the King's-bench prison,*) should rise from the bottom of this moat. The top of this wall should be level with the surface of the soil. Thus

* Mr. Howard says of the King's-bench—"This spacious prison is enclosed with a strong wall about thirty feet high, with chevaux de frize," p. 244.—If walls are in any degree considerably elevated above the surface, it is necessary, so far as may be, to obviate this disadvantage to ventilation in some measure; as by other means, so by the chevaux de frize being five or six feet high: a method recommended by Mr. Blackburn of Southwark.

Thus would the security at present aimed at by the high walls, be still enjoyed, without their numerous inconveniences, and an unobstructed current of air would continually ventilate every separate building.

These buildings should consist only of two stories, formed upon arcades, agreeably to Mr. Howard's idea: and contain, I apprehend, not more than six or eight apartments. It would be also proper that these apartments, and their appendages, should vary in spaciousness and other circumstances, as exigency and the public wisdom shall direct.

Security, which, without a doubt, is the essential point to be consulted in places of confinement, may be effected by the strength and peculiar construction of the building; by attention to internal polity; or by the combined aid of both.

It appears to me, that too great a reliance has hitherto been placed upon the construction of prisons; too little upon a well-regulated œconomy: and that the latter is frequently impeded, by the measures which are adopted to perfect the former.

Instead of buildings formed of massy stone, with various mechanical expedients to guard

against escape, security may, perhaps, be more essentially promoted by detached buildings, less costly; substantial, formed of brick; and into whose recesses the eye of vigilance can penetrate with greater ease.

Stone stair-cases, separate apartments, and such expedients as may prevent improper communication between the prisoners, without encumbering the structure, are certainly necessary. But the main improvement to be expected in the state of prisons, seems to me to consist in a judicious mode of conducting their internal polity. Lights properly dispersed over the whole enclosed district; a regular patrol by day and night; permission to the prisoners to enjoy the benefit of the air, by rotation, at certain hours; concerted signals of alarm, would, in all probability, afford more real security, with less expense, and less injury to the feelings of humanity, than can be effected in buildings of the present construction, wherein the very provisions adopted to prevent riot, insurrection, or escape, materially obstruct the free communication and united exertions of the people who are appointed to guard against them.

Let

Let us imitate nature. She effects her purposes by the simplest means. *

The present great obstruction to the visitation of gaols, viz. the apprehension of unhealthiness, and the expectation of the eye and ear being saluted, on entrance, with bars, and bolts, and chains; and the gloom inseparable from lofty walls, and the form and solid structure of subterraneous mansions, being thus effectually removed, the next process will be, to hint a plan for the regulation of their internal polity, and for securing the observance of such rules as expedience shall suggest.

O o 2

With

* Mr. Howard says of the prisons at Paris, "The discipline observed is so exact, that at the fire in the Conciergerie, the numerous prisoners (as I was informed) were removed without any confusion, or a single escape," p. 168, &c. "None of the prisoners in the courts were in irons. And yet, in some of the prisons, there were more criminals than in any of our London gaols. My reader, perhaps, will presently see reason to conclude, that the manner in which prisons are conducted, makes the confinement more tolerable, and chains less needful. Indeed, it was evident, from the very appearance of the prisoners in some of the gaols, that humane attention was paid to them." p. 166. In a like sense, the excellent Beccaria, "*Ogni atto di autorità di uomo a uomo che non derivi dal' assoluta necessità e tirannico.*" *Dei delitti e delle pene.*

With respect to specific regulations of internal polity, I do not presume to give a formal opinion : being conscious that much must depend upon experiment, and that my habits of life do not enable me to point out the form that would be most expedient. Perhaps the regulations observed in garrisons and camps, wherein good order, and a state of constant vigilance are so very essential, may suggest to the civil power a form of polity, steady in its operation, easy in its execution, and yet effectual to all the purposes of security. But the utmost care should be taken, that the restraint of liberty, even in the case of the most atrocious crimes, should be as mild as the circumstances will admit : that the establishment of the proper rules and orders, and the mode of carrying them into execution, should be intirely under the control of the magistrates and gentlemen of the district ; that in no particular, or possible circumstance, they should be liable to the interference of the established army ; and with every proper caution guarded against the tyranny or over-bearing influence of any man, or set of men, who hold their appointment from the crown. Better, far better

better, that all the present evils and disorders, however grievous, should continue, than that, under specious pretences, liberty, the choicest gift of heaven to man, without which no other blessing can convey real enjoyment to the rational mind, should be impaired, perhaps, totally destroyed, by the introduction of a french system of police, even into our gaols.

The answer to the question, *Quis custodiet ipsos?* is next to be considered. In what manner are we to guard against the neglect and tyranny of the officers of prisons, and secure the observance of such rules as expedience shall suggest?

The conduct of the houses of industry, in Suffolk and Norfolk, in one of which I was a director for the space of three years, seems to me to point out an useful and practicable mode of government and control.

A committee room, spacious, commodious, and pleasantly situated, is set apart for the weekly meetings of the directors and guardians of the house.

They consist of the principal gentry, clergy, and tenantry, in the county. They visit in rotation; each taking a month. Two
directors

directors from the gentry, three acting guardians from the yeomanry, (with the clerk) form the weekly meeting. The governor of the house attends to answer inquiries and complaints. He brings up his report of the material events of the preceding week. All business respecting the oeconomy of the house and current expenses, is then settled. The stores and provisions are inspected; the apothecary, who attends for a yearly stipend, is examined with respect to the sick. In this whole affair, no person complains of the fatigue of attendance, but rather takes pleasure in the discharge of so useful an employment.

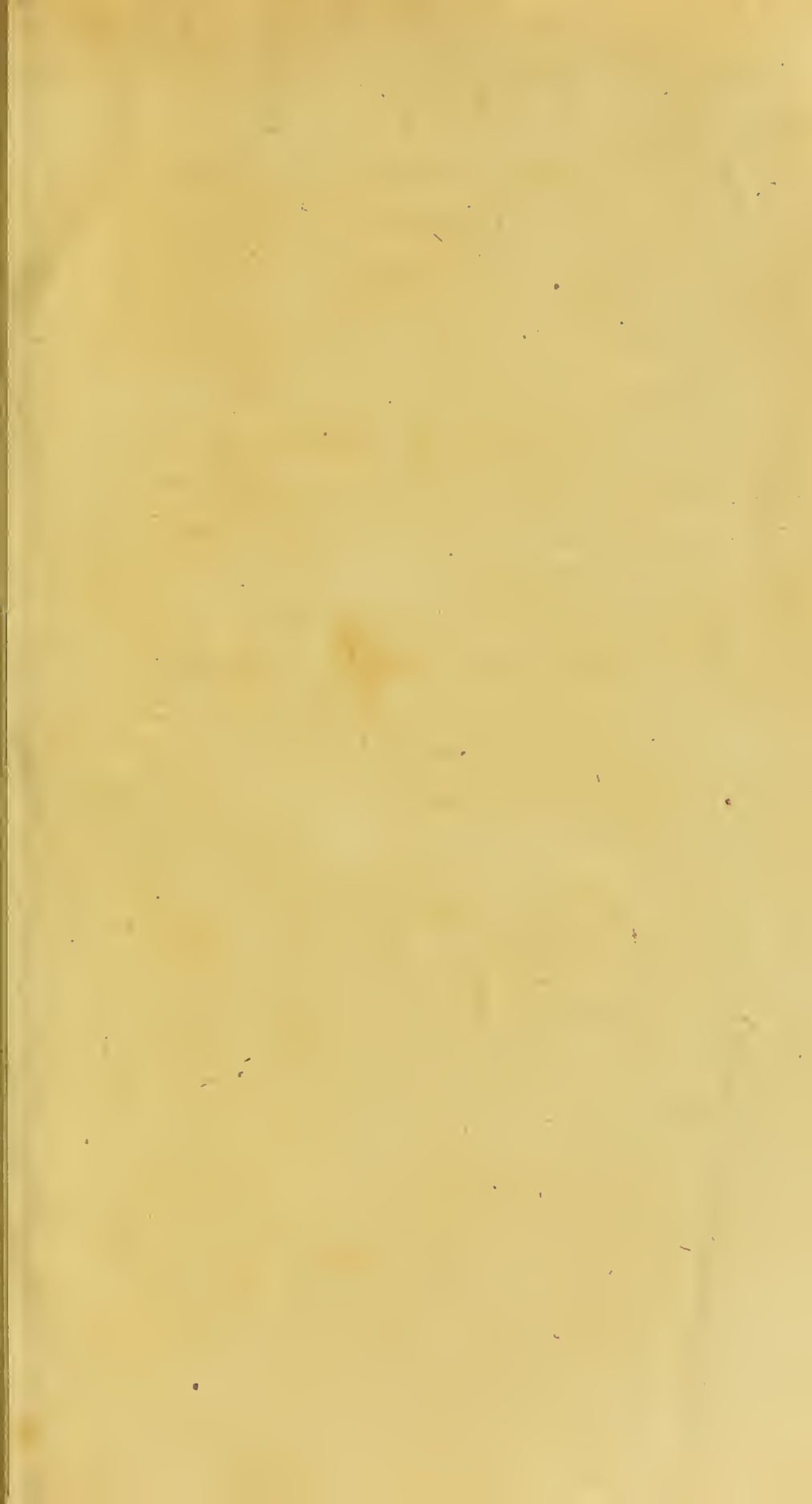
The justices of the county, or district, aided by the gentry and clergy, and a certain portion of the substantial tenantry, might be incorporated by parliament, with powers to act in a similar manner in respect to gaols. The regulation of places of confinement would then be vested in the hands of the parties, who are really interested in the reform of their manifold abuses. The humanity of my countrymen would effect the rest; they would behold in a prisoner, a person, who, from the loss of liberty, from
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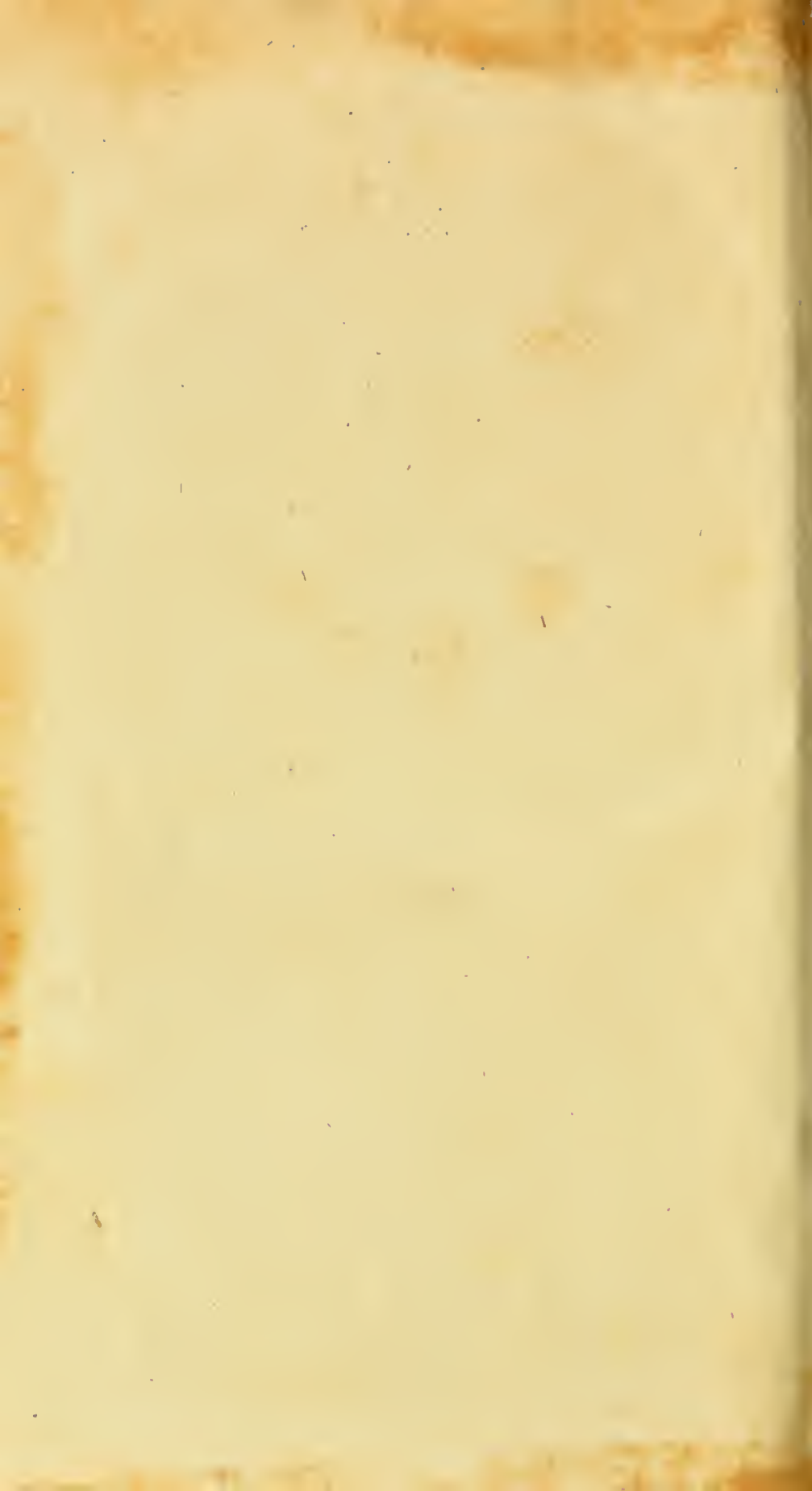
the anxieties necessarily attendant upon his situation, from the injury he has probably sustained in his circumstances, and must continue to sustain, before his guilt or innocence can be legally ascertained, is already afflicted with a considerable share of suffering, and, therefore, ought not to be unnecessarily exposed to the additional distresses of hunger, cold, and nakedness, and the almost moral certainty of disease.

I will recapitulate; and conclude.

It is my aim, in submitting the preceding reflections to the public, to impress my readers with a persuasion, that if due attention were paid to the site and construction of prisons, the grand obstacle to their improvement, viz. the infrequency of their inspection, would no longer exist; that the health of the persons confined cannot be consulted in any tolerable measure, while prisons are situated in the midst of populous cities, or surrounded with walls, rising high above the inhabited enclosure. That the expedients which have been acquiesced in as essential to the guarding against riot, insurrection, and escape, are not only inefficacious, but frequently are productive of
the

the very evils they were intended to prevent; that a judicious form of internal polity might safely be substituted in their place; and that the power of enforcing such regulations, as public wisdom may direct, ought to be vested in the hands of such persons, as are most interested in the peace and good order of the district; viz. in a weekly committee of the justices, gentry, and tenantry of the county, attending upon the spot in monthly rotation. Thus the present reproach of the disorder and immorality of persons under confinement, would, I conceive, be finally removed, and, at the same time, the feelings of humanity, at present wounded by every reflection upon the complicated sufferings endured in these melancholy mansions, be effectually consulted, without offering the minutest injury to substantial justice.





Dec 8/83

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